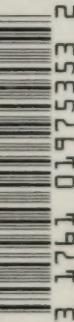


UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



NEW ENGLAND CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS.

No. 3.

THE
ACADIANS OF MADAWASKA,
MAINE.

BY

Rev. CHARLES W. COLLINS,

CHANCELLOR OF THE DIOCESE OF PORTLAND, ME.

BOSTON.

1902.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF THOMAS A. WHALEN & CO.
234-236 CONGRESS STREET.

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The Acadians of Madawaska.

If one examines on the map the vast and irregular outlines of the State of Maine, he will discern that its northeasterly boundary is formed in part by the river St. John flowing in a wide sweep from the mouth of the St. Francis river to a point three miles west of Grand Falls. In its progress along this curve, the river winds its way for the most part between high, wooded hills which give way where streams enter to alluvial plains, and, thrown back by the massive rock gorge at Grand Falls, it has spread out and formed in the course of time extensive intervals enriched by the periodical overflow.

This long, narrow valley is fringed on both sides of the St. John with a line of farms which extend almost continuously throughout the 90 miles of its length, and though the line gathers in some two or three places into the semblance of a town, it is ordinarily a thin, double line of habitation hemmed in behind by vast forests. On the Canadian side a lazy railroad creeps up the river for 70 miles or so, but on the American side there is no railroad above Van Buren, the least remote town of the valley, and this inroad is of very recent date. Not a bridge crosses the St. John throughout the long sweep of the river, and excepting in the towns mentioned the stores can almost be counted on the fingers. It is a country of rugged and picturesque scenery, small houses and huge barns, and little modern comfort, given over almost entirely to agriculture.

The region takes its name, Madawaska, from a small river which falls into the St. John 30 miles above Grand Falls, and has been occupied since 1785 by Acadians refugees from the expulsion of 1755, and their descendants. Though Canadian immigration and intermarriage have played a most important part in the history of this ter-

ritory, and numbers of people of English speech may be found there, especially in the towns, the character is definitely Acadian, and the people have preserved with little change through the vicissitudes of time and trouble the antique tongue, quaint customs and peasant virtues of Acadia and old France.

Bourinot, p. 233,
"Story of Can-
ada."

The story of the Madawaska Acadians runs back through two centuries, for, though their occupancy of the upper St. John valley dates but from the last quarter of the 18th century, no narrative can do justice to them which fails to take into account the unpropitious beginnings of Port Royal, the unique isolation of Acadia from the polite world for more than a century, and the pitiless political whirlwind which swept them from their native shores in 1755, naked and bewildered exiles. These circumstances, enmeshed with a vigilant hostility which attended the pioneers of Madawaska during their sojourn in New Brunswick and a peculiar boundary dispute between the United States and Canada, choked educational and social development and left them until 1843 in political chaos. The present day statistics of Madawaska must be interpreted in the light of these facts; and so interpreted, do honor to it. The entire, little-known history of the Acadians posterior to the events of 1755 is a startling and pathetic verity, view it how you will, and evinces qualities of endurance, perseverance and faith in these illiterate peasants, inherent only in remarkable peoples, and almost lifts them to a place among the stories of the nations.

ACADIA.

Patton, U. S., p.
243.
Bancroft, U. S., p.
11., p. 425.
Thevaite's Col.,
p. 35.
Greswell, Can.,
p. 109.
Roberts, p. 51.

Razilly and
Charnisay.

Acadia was the first French colony in North America. Poutrincourt's gentlemen adventurers established themselves at Port Royal 16 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. Though the members of this colony dispersed and the venture failed, the germ of colonization survived. The permanent colony was founded by Razilly and Charnisay, who, between 1632-8, brought over sixty people from La Rochelle, Saintonge and

Poitou. From these, most modern Acadians derive their lineage and their names. Razilly's colonists saw in the marshes of the country the counterpart of their native low-lying region of La Rochelle, and began that system of dykes which made the land famed for its fertility and left the interior of the peninsula a forest primeval. Immigration from France dropped off and finally ceased entirely. Acadia was practically left to its own devices, and the isolated colony having become self-supporting, absorbed the remnants of Alexander's abortive enterprise, spread along the coast of the peninsula and the shores of the Bay of Fundy and became a peculiar and typical people. During the time that France and England struggled for the possession of North America, the Acadians rested in their retreats, taking as little part as possible in the conflicts. Living wholly along the coasts, they were much exposed to attack and could hardly afford to invite hostility, even if so inclined; but they were in fact a peaceful people. For all that, hardship and war worked havoc on the little settlements, and Grandfontaine's census in 1671 gives hardly more than 400 inhabitants for all Acadia. These 400, however, constituted the survival of the fittest, a solid and permanent group of people, well suited to become the parent stock of the future generations. In origin the Acadians differed from the Canadians, and this difference was further increased by the infrequent relations between the two peoples. Canada was New France; Acadia a new land altogether. The original Acadians were a medley of fishermen, soldiers and adventurers of every sort, and it is not the least interesting thing about them that from this group was evolved a strong, simple and eminently moral people. Their strength and enterprise may be gathered from the fact that they soon became self-supporting, while Canada ever leant on the mother country. The census of 1679 shows but 515 persons, but these were a nation. The census of 1686 shows 885, excluding servants and soldiers at Port Royal. The total was about 1000. Between 1704-7 three expeditions from Boston were fitted out to take

Hannay in C. H.
R., p. 115.

Hannay History
Acadia, p. 16.

Roberts, p. 46.

Parkman, H. C.
C., 116-118-122.

Anglo-French
Wars.

Census, 1671.

Rameau, France
aux Colonies,
I., p. 23-30-124.
Roberts, p. 95.

Rameau, France
aux Colonies,
I., p. 30-128.
Hannay, C.H.R.
p. 116.

Rameau, *id.*, I.,
p. 30.

Rameau, *id.*, I.,
p. 31-129.

Rameau, *id.*, I.,
p. 33.

Port Royal, but all failed, though the attacking parties were very numerous and the Acadians counting every soul had but 1484 people. In 1710 the English came again with 3400 men, and the garrison of 156 effective defenders capitulated after some days' fighting. Then came the Treaty of Utrecht, definitely ceding Acadia to England. In the preceding attacks, Port Royal was the objective point, the outlying settlements escaping invasion.

Before going on to relate the circumstances between the cession of Acadia to England in 1713 and the deportation in 1755, it will perhaps be in order to state the increase of population in that time.

Population.

It will be seen that the population of the entire region amounted to less than 1500 at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht. In 1737 the official census gives 7598 in Mines, Beaubassin and Port Loyal; the sparse settlements across the Bay, not counted. This means that they had quadrupled in 30 years without immigration. The census of an English traveller, who visited Acadia in 1748 or Rameau, *id.*, I., p. 36. estimates them at 12,500, but the emigration began so marked soon after this, on account of the Hannay, C.H.R. p. 118. longed English occupancy, that in 1754, notwithstanding Parkman, M. & W., I., p. 245. Bourinot, p. 306. the large birth rate, there were but 9215 in the peninsula. Parkman, H. C. C., p. 145-177.

Acadia was captured by Nicholson in 1710 and, by the treaty of Utrecht, three years later, ceded to England. The obscure wording of this treaty in the matter of the boundary between the peninsula and the rest of the country caused much trouble during the ensuing years. Article XIV of the Treaty defines the situation of the Acadians:

Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

"It is expressly provided that in all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the Most Christian King in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their movable effects. But those who are willing to remain here, and to be subjects to the kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their

English Conquest.

Roberts, p. 100.
Parkman, H. C. C., 109-149.

religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same." *Rich, I., p. 74.*

In return for some kindness shown by the King of France for his Protestant subjects, Queen Anne wrote the following letter to Nicholson, still further lightening the burden of the Acadians:

"Whereas our good brother, the Most Christian King, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion, we, being willing to show by some mark of our favor towards his subjects how kind we take his compliance therein, have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under our Government of Acadia and Newfoundland, that have been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late treaty of peace and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other our subjects do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same, if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

Queen Anne Letter.

"By Her Majesty's command,

"Dartmouth." *Rich., id., p. 47.*

This situation as defined by the treaty and letter *Terms of Treaty.* was clear. The Acadians were to have the option of staying or going. If they chose to stay, they were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The time limit for decision was a year. The Acadians did not depart during this year, and the reason is curious. About July, 1713, they sent delegates to ascertain what terms they could obtain if they emigrated to French territory. The terms were unsatisfactory, for the land at Cape Breton offered was poor; however, they stated their determination to go in any case if forced to take an oath of allegiance. Land at Prince Edward's Island was then offered them, and they prepared to go, but the lieutenant-

Rameau, C. F.,
II., p. 5.
Parkman, M. &
W., I., p. 95.
Bourinot, p. 232.
Richard I., p. 34.
Parkman, II., C.,
C., p. 186-7.

Vetch.

Rich. p. 82.

Nicholson.

Rich. I. p. 86.

Parkman, H. C.
C., p. 188.
R., p. 87.

R. p. 91.

Caulfield, 1715.

Rich. I., p. 100.

Doucette, 1717.

R., p. 105.

R., p. 105, 111.
Roberts, p. 124.

governor, Vetch, would not permit this, as he said, until the return of Nicholson. The bearers of the Queen's message arrived in Acadia about the same time with Nicholson, who promised to let the Acadians go within another year, but put off the actual moving until, as he said, he could refer it to the Queen. The Queen died in August, 1714. Representations were made to the Lords of Trade, pointing out that the departure of the French would ruin the country. During this time the Acadians were awaiting the decision. In the Spring of 1715 many, in this expectation, did not sow their lands. In the interim the Acadians were refused permission to leave in English ships, French ships were not allowed to enter the harbors, and when the people built vessels of their own and wished to send to Louisberg for rigging for them, this was refused by the Governor. They were also refused permission to obtain it in Boston. Different letters of Vetch to the Lords of Trade state that unless orders were sent to prevent the departure of the Acadians, Nova Scotia would be stript and Cape Breton become a populous and well-stocked colony. There was another reason; the garrison was wholly dependent on the French for provisions, and if they went away the handful of soldiers would soon be massacred by the Indians.

Gov. Caulfield took office in 1715 and sent out agents to administer the oath. The Acadians refused the oath, stating that they were awaiting the decision promised by Nicholson. Caulfield was replaced in 1717 by Doucette, who severely enjoined the people to take the oath. The Acadians, despairing of the Nicholson decision, sent a common statement that they wished protection from the Indians in event of taking the oath, and this oath was to be that they would not take up arms against the King of France, England or their allies. This is the first appearance of the famous contention of neutrality. Doucette tried to exact the unconditional oath, but in vain. He appealed to the priests, but they declined to interfere. Doucette had written to the Governor of Louisberg complaining that the Acadians had not gone, and

received a sharp one in return in which it was stated that Nicholson and his successors had made it impossible for the Acadians to depart with their goods by refusing them vessels or permission to get rigging for their own craft.

In 1720, Gov. Phillips came to Annapolis to take charge. **Phillips, 1720.**

He ordered the Acadians to take the oath without reserve or leave the province within four months, without transporting their effects. They accepted the terms, asking only an extension of time to gather the harvest.

They wrote to the Governor of Louisberg asking help. **R., p. 113.** **Parkman, H. C.**
C., p. 144.

He wrote to Phillips asking to have the obstacles in the

way of the French departure removed. The Acadians

R., p. 119.

set to work to make the road from Mines and Annapolis,

since this was the only way of leaving the province from

these places. Phillips became alarmed and ordered the

road making stopped. He also told them not to leave

their homes clandestinely or without leave. He blamed

his failure to settle the affair on the clergy, whom he

called "bigoted priests." On Dec. 20, 1720, the Lords

R. I., p. 123.

of Trade wrote to Phillips that the Acadians ought to be

removed as soon as the promised forces should arrive,

but in the meantime to be prudent and allow them free-

dom of religion, which, as they said, would probably be

accorded them if they chose to stay where they were.

This is the first intimation of a plan of deportation. A

R., p. 124.

private letter written at this time by Craggs, Secretary

of State to Phillips, is rather interesting at this point.

This Craggs was afterwards disgraced and died on his

way to the Tower, and of course his private letter does

not show any design of the Government; but it is a

strange thing that so many years before the expulsion,

a man high in the government should outline the entire

scheme as it was actually carried out, and should suggest

such measures of dissimulation in the meantime as only

too evidently appear in the documents of the time.

Craggs tells the Governor "not to bother about justice

or other baubles any more than Nicholson or Vetch did;

these things will not advance our interests." "Their de-

parture (the Acadians) will doubtless increase the power

of France: this must not be; they must eventually be transferred to some place where mingling with our subjects they will soon forget their language, their religion and remembrance of the past, and become true Englishmen. For the moment, we are too weak to undertake this deportation—encourage them with any hopes you choose—provided you obtain the desired end, which is to prevent their departure.” The course of Phillips during the next few years would indicate that he took these suggestions to heart. He continued things in the *statu quo* for two years, and returned to Europe, leaving Doucette to act as lieutenant-governor. He so acted until 1725. During this time the matter of the oath was allowed to rest, and since the Indians of Maine were in open rebellion, and those of Nova Scotia likely to join them, nothing was done to irritate the Acadians who were their friends. They were left to themselves. After Doucette in 1725 came Armstrong, a moody, ungovernable man, who seems to have had trouble with everyone, even his own household. He began to act as if the country were in a state of war. The Acadians who had had some experience with him previously in a subordinate capacity dreaded his coming. In fact, some went away that year to Prince Edward’s Island. All prepared for a general migration, and Armstrong fearing this, and taking a moment which he judged favorable, proposed

**Armstrong,
1725.**

R. I., p. 137.
Parkman, H. C., p. 200.

the oath. The Acadians asked for the insertion of a clause about not bearing arms against the King of France; and Armstrong states in his letter to the Lords of Trade that he inserted this in the margin of the French version. The English version was the official document. He states that he did this to get them over by degrees. He told them that there was no danger of their having to bear arms, for this was a privilege allowed only to his Majesty’s Protestant subjects. All that the Acadians had to do was to be obedient subjects.

R. I., p. 138.

In this fashion, the oath was given to one fourth of the people. Most of Armstrong’s envoys to other places came back unsuccessful. He sent one in particular, Rob-

ert Wroth, to Mines and Beaubassin. Wroth inserted the clause about bearing arms in the French version of the oath, omitting it in the official English one. The Governor decided that the oath was not valid as far as the Government was concerned, but that, nevertheless, the Acadians were bound by this oath. Armstrong was much chagrined at his failure to get the unreserved oath; strange to say, he blames Boston merchants for his failure. The Lords of Trade did not take kindly to Armstrong's manoeuvering, and sent Phillips back to Acadia. Shortly after his arrival, Phillips wrote back that the oath had been taken by all the people in Annapolis, and that the rest would soon follow. He succeeded in this by giving an oral promise to the French that they would not be called upon to bear arms against the French. This fact, which has sometimes been questioned, is stated later on by Gov. Lawrence, and is conclusively shown by various documents cited in Richard's "Acadia." The Acadians without written proof of their stand tried to safeguard themselves by writing to the French Governor, explaining the affair. Phillips retired to England in 1731, and the oath question fell into desuetude until the foundation of Halifax in 1749. The Acadians went back to their fields and dwelt in peace. These twenty years were the most prosperous in their whole history. Armstrong returned in 1731, but English authority was exerted only in the vicinity of the fort at Annapolis. The people governed themselves. The only cause of dissatisfaction was the land, which had been sub-divided as families increased, until it was fearfully crowded and there were endless differences about boundaries. The Government would give no new concessions.

Armstrong killed himself in 1739, and was succeeded by Mascarene. This governor was severe in insisting on non-intervention on the part of the clergy in matters political, but soon had things smoothed out and all satisfied. The land question was bound to come up on account of the discomfort of the people. One of the causes why the Acadians could not occupy the lands outside

R. I., p. 140.

Phillips.

Winslow, Journal in N. S. A. VIII., p. 112.

Parkman, H. C. C., p. 201.

R. I., 147.
R. I., p. 151, req.
Also N. S. Archives.

R. I., p. 152.

Mascarene,
1730.

their original farms, was that these had been granted to proprietors in England. Just while this matter was most critical, war broke out between England and France. During this war, Acadia was four times invaded by the French, and Port Royal was for some time held by them;

Rich. I., p. 203.

Hannay in Rich.
I., p. 205.

every means from flattery to threats was employed to gain over the Acadians; they were ordered to deliver up their arms or be given over to the mercies of the Indians, but would not do it. Finally the French retired. At this time the fortifications of Annapolis were repaired, the Acadians very willingly doing nearly all the work. Mascarene states that they were most ready. He states that throughout this war they kept him informed of the French movements. July 2, 1744, he wrote that the Acadians had no ways joined the enemy—had helped repair the works the day before the attack. In December, 1744, he wrote: "To the succor received from the Governor of Massachusetts and our French inhabitants refusing to take up arms against us, we owe our preservation."

R. I., p. 207.

R. I., p. 208.

R. I., p. 208.

History of N. S.

R. I., p. 211.

In 1747, he wrote: "Though the enemy brought near 2000 men in arms in the midst of them, and used all means of cajoling them and threatening them to take up arms, having brought spare ones to that end, they could not prevail upon above 20 to join them." Murdock states: "Although there were always a portion of the inhabitants of Beaubassin (on the isthmus) positively disaffected to English rule, in the other settlements there were very few persons who were even suspected of willingly aiding the invasion, and Duvivier received as little support from the Acadians after crossing the Avon as Prince Charles Stuart in the next year after crossing the Tweed."

The number 20 enumerated in Mascarene's letter tallies with the French reports; twelve of these were arrested on denunciations made by the Acadians; this not for taking up arms, but advising and assisting the French invaders or neglecting to inform the English. This in a four years' war with four invasions. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, was no friend to the Acadians.

Gov. Shirley's
Plan.

He devised a plan to plant Protestant colonists among them, taking away the marsh lands and giving bribes to perverts. This plan reached the ears of the Acadians as a scheme for their expulsion, alarming them greatly, and they consulted Mascarene. Aug. 15, 1746, Shirley came forward with another plan of removing the "Romish priests" and introducing Protestant English schools and French Protestant ministers. This was after the Acadians had remained proof against French wiles during the war, and had aided in building Annapolis fort. Nov. 21, Shirley informed the Duke of Newcastle that the Acadians were alarmed, saying that Admiral Knowles thinks "that it will be necessary to drive all the Acadians out of Acadia." After going over the situation, he stated that driving out the Acadians was not in his opinion the plan, since it would strengthen the enemy. This seemed to be the only deterrent. It had been the same with Craggs. He concludes the letter submitting whether it was better to drive them out to strengthen the French, or retain them and treat them as subjects.

Newcastle replied May 30, 1747, advising the quieting of the Acadian apprehensions of expulsion, saying that it was the King's desire to continue them in their fidelity and the free exercise of their religion. Before receiving this reply, Shirley wrote advising the placing of English colonists at Beaubassin and transplanting the Acadians to New England, distributing them among the four governments there. After receiving the reply, he wrote stating that he had suspended the King's plan to give freedom of religion, but made such declaration as would quiet the minds of the Acadians. Mascarene did not relish Shirley's interference. He knew its effect on the Acadians. February, 1747, the French attacked Grand Pré. The Acadians had warned the English garrison, but were unheeded. The French occupied Grand Pré and sent out proclamations stating that the Acadians were now French subjects. This did not help the French, for the Acadians went to Mascarene with the proclamations and told him all about it. The French

Parkman, Mont-
calm & Wolfe
I., p. 243.
Bourinot, p. 228
R.²³⁵, p. 218.

Parkman, M. &
W. I., p. 95.
Murdock, H. N.
S. II., p. 129-
131.
R., p. 220.
R. I., p. 223.

R. I., p. 227.

French Invasion,
1747.

then made proclamation that the Acadians were released from their oath to the English, and that it had been so decided by the Canadian authorities and the Bishop of Quebec.

R. I., p. 229.

**Cornwallis,
Halifax, 1749.**

Bourinot, p. 232.

**Hannay in C. H.
R., p. 145.**

R. I., p. 249.

**Anglo-Faench
Hostilities
(1748-56).**

Bourinot, p. 229.

This proclamation was also without effect, as Shirley's letter of June 8 to Newcastle shows. Peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle October, 1748. Things went back to the *statu quo*. The foundation of Halifax was decided upon March, 1749, and realized June 27 following, with Edward Cornwallis as governor. A few days later the Acadians sent delegates with their respects to the Governor, who gave out a proclamation enjoining an unconditional oath, telling the delegates to publish it and return. This they did July 29. They asked for the insertion of the clause about not taking up arms against the French, and were refused, as also permission to leave the country with their goods. Some weeks later the deputies came with a letter signed by one thousand persons, asking that the Phillips' oath might be renewed, and recounting their fidelity in the last war. Cornwallis replied that the Phillips' oath had no such reservation as they claimed, and told them they must obey. He told them they could leave without their effects. Memorials and deputations succeeded one another, all amounting to nothing. French intrigue began again, and La Corne was sent to occupy Beaubassin. During the Fall of 1749 the English were too busy at Halifax to attend to anything else. March, 1750, Cornwallis wrote to Bedford that he proposed deferring the oath until the end of the Beaubassin affair, and after that to exact a peremptory answer. He was told not to exact the oath, but to treat the Acadians kindly and to wean their minds from the design of leaving the country. Cornwallis then told the Acadians to sow seed and await the government reply. They obeyed, but not wishing to sow the land for the benefit of strangers if they could help it, went to the Governor seeking some assurance. They received none. He refused them passports and insisted on keeping things as they were. The eight years from 1748 to

1756 were in America a series of hostilities yearly growing more violent. During all this time the attempts of the French to gain over the Acadians were incessant. Cornwallis's proclamation of an unconditional oath ~~became~~ became a pretext for secret hostilities and finally open war. The French used the savages to strike the English during a time of peace. Le Loutre began to make trouble at Beausejour, setting the Indians to burn the Acadian houses at Beaubassin and so force the inhabitants to take refuge on the French side of the line. For this thing Le Loutre was severely reproved by the Bishop of Quebec.

Rich. I., p. 299.
Roberts, p. 125.

During the latter half of the year 1749 continued hostilities went on on the isthmus near the disputed frontier.

In November, 1752, a treaty of peace was arranged between Cornwallis and the Mic-Macs. This peace was very short. It was broken by the English themselves. Cornwallis wished to begin a war of extermination against the Indians, but was prevented by the Lords of Trade. Another treaty of peace was negotiated, but quickly broken. During this time (from 1750-52) the Acadians were tranquilly awaiting the reply promised by Cornwallis. Hopson succeeded Cornwallis in 1752. On Dec. 10, 1753, Hopson wrote to the Lords of Trade that application of the oath was difficult, if not impossible, and advised delay. He states that the Acadians are so useful that it is impossible to replace them. He sent letters to the different commanders, advising kind measures and putting the Acadians on the same footing as other English subjects.

Hopson, 1752.

R. I. p. 321.

July 23, 1753, he wrote to the Lords of Trade that the Acadians were ready for unconditional submission, and only refrained from fear of the French and Indians, who had it in their power to make existence intolerable. The Acadians, who had crossed to French territory in 1748, asked to return under the old conditions, which was granted, except for the oath which the Governor could not change. Hopson's administration ended with this year. He was succeeded by Lawrence, first for a time.

Lawrence. and later as the Governor. Dec. 5, 1753, Lawrence wrote that the Acadians were quiet in political matters, but were disagreeing among themselves. They feared that the oath would be forced on them. The land famine was becoming intolerable. This letter perplexed the Lords of Trade, who warned Lawrence against any action likely to start the Acadians migrating. On the other hand, he was told to try and work them into taking the oath of allegiance.

R. I., p. 345. **R. I., p. 350.** **R. I., p. 355.** On Aug. 1, 1754, Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade, alleging disturbance, assistance to the French, and blaming the priests for it. He concludes the letter:

“As they possess the best and largest tracts of land in this Province, it cannot be settled with any effect while they remain in this situation, and I would be very far from attempting such a step without Your Lordships’ approbation, yet I cannot help being of the opinion that it would be much better, if they refuse the oath, that they were away.”

**Lawrence’s
Charges.**

In this letter Lawrence made accusations about the Acadians. One of them is the intercourse with the French and selling provisions to them. The extent of this was much exaggerated; it was by no means a common practice of the people, who themselves made many attempts to have it stopped, and it had gone on under preceding governors without being interpreted as against fidelity.

Rich. I., p. 358. The Acadians in 1744 did police duty to stop this traffic. It amounted to nothing more or less than smuggling. He also stated that the Acadians had not been near the English markets for a long time, but he omitted stating that it was some time since the disposition of the last crop, that the time for gathering the next crop had not come, and naturally they had no reason for going to the markets. There is no existing case of the Acadians trading with the French, mentioned in the annals of this time, but there is more than one case of the English merchants themselves being engaged in this traffic. There was one other charge against the Acadians: that was

against the 300 who had gone to Beausejour, presumably to repair dykes. This work had to be done by many at a certain time, and done quickly. They asked Lawrence's permission to go and were refused. They went. Probably some went for good, but the greater number must have gone with the idea of returning, since they left their families behind. In any case the accusation is not one of importance. The Lords of Trade, in answer to Lawrence's letter, ordered delay and investigation of the dyke matter. The men who went away were condemned to forfeit their lands if they refused to take the unconditional oath. On Aug. 4, after his first letter had been sent, he dispatched word to the commanders not to bargain with the Acadians for anything, but to take what they wanted, and exercise military severity against any delinquents to the orders.

The Acadians obeyed. The orders were carried out immediately, except at Pigiguit, where they were delayed. This delay was much remarked by the commander, Murray.

On May 27, 1755, Lawrence learned that three Frenchmen were among the Acadians seeking to gain them over, and he made proclamation that any who listened to them would be treated with military severity.

On the strength of a certain letter supposed to have been intercepted and indicating a French descent, Lawrence communicated with Shirley, who lent 2000 New England troops for an expedition to dislodge the French. On June 2, 1755, thirty-three vessels under Monekton, Winslow and Scott arrived at Fort Lawrence. At this time France and England were ostensibly at peace. Beausejour was invested and June 16 was captured. Three hundred Acadians were found there under arms. It has been said that they induced the French to declare that they had taken up arms only under pain of death. Monekton, in his letter of June 16, while stating that they were found in arms, states that they were in arms under pain of death, implies no subterfuge, and pardons them.

Parkman, M. &
W. I., p. 248,
254, 255.

Expedition of
1755.

Roberts, p. 122,
127.

Beausejour
Captured.

R. I., p. 357
Lawrence in
Wins. Jour.,
Vol. III., p. 51
Bourinot, p. 231,
234.
Rich. II., p. 1.

**Preparations for
Deportation.**

Rich. II., p. 17,
27.

Rich. II., p. 29.

Rich. II., p. 36,
Casgrain, Pel.,
p. 94.

Rich. II., p. 45.

Rich. II., p. 57.

On June 6, 1755, 100 men had been sent by Lawrence, under pretence of a fishing frolic, to disarm the inhabitants of Mines district. This was done. The people sent a petition to the Governor, protesting their fidelity and asking to keep their arms for fear of the Indians. Lawrence considered this petition as impudent; the people sent another still more humble, and asking an interview. They came July 3, and were ordered to take the oath of allegiance. They asked to retire home to consider the matter; this was refused. They were told that no delay or exemption would be granted, and that their reply must be ready by 10 o'clock the next morning. At this the Acadians declared that they could not take the oath without consulting their people. They were told that otherwise they would be treated as French subjects and deported, and were ordered to withdraw. They were called in again and informed that they were to be treated as Popish Recusants, and were imprisoned. On June 28, 1755, Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade that the Acadians were delivering up their arms. He stated that they were to be driven out of the country. But it was no part of his plan to drive them across the frontier. He entered into consultation with Boscawin, and it was decided that the inhabitants must take the oath or quit the country. Soon after, according to an exhaustive plan of the settlements prepared long before by a Judge Morris, arrangements were made to plant troops in the different villages secretly. Meanwhile a rumor was circulated by the authorities that the inhabitants were to be sent to Canada, so that none would try to escape. July 18, Lawrence let the Lords of Trade know of his plan in a veiled way, insinuating a removal to France. On July 25, delegates from all Acadia met at Halifax, but the conference came to no satisfactory result. This was evident, because the matter had long ago been decided in the Governor's mind. He wished that the deportation should take place before the Lords of Trade could head it off, in a reply to his letter of June 28. He knew that if the fact were once accomplished, it would

be difficult for them to change it and they would acquiesce. It fell out as he had foreseen.

On July 31, Lawrence wrote to Monckton arranging details of the expulsion and giving precise directions about the disposal of the Acadian cattle and flocks which were many and valuable. The different commanders on the peninsula received similar directions, and it now only remained for him to carry out his carefully matured plans. Stringent orders were given to prevent the people from escaping, and in case of opposition, the rule was "life for life from the nearest neighbor." In order to show how the business was regarded by other people, it may be well to quote a letter written by the American Commander Winslow some time before the public decision of the deportation. It shows quite well where the direct responsibility for the deportation lies, and also the animus of those who had charge of it.

"We are now hatching the great and noble project of banishing the French Neutrals from this province; they have ever been our secret enemies, and have encouraged our Indians to cut our throats. If we can accomplish this expulsion it will have been one of the greatest deeds the English in America have ever achieved, for among other considerations the part of the country which they occupy is one of the best soils in the world, and in that event, we might place some good farmers on their homesteads."

On July 31, Lawrence announced the deportation to the Lords of Trade, stating that the Acadians "are the most inveterate enemies of our religion" and could not safely be sent to Canada; that vessels had been hired to convey them to the colonies and disperse them from Georgia to New England. From all the documents extant, it is clearly evident that this action of the Governor was taken entirely without the sanction and even against the will of the government. Every letter from the Lords of Trade had counselled moderation and delay. But Lawrence did not write his letter of July 31 until his plans were matured, and any letter from England would

Winsl. Journal,
P. 77, 137, 134,
142.

R. II., p. 77.
Conf. Parkman,
Montcalm &
Wolfe I., p.
263.

R. II., p. 58.

Lawrence and
Home
Government.

Arch. N. S., p.
58, 64, 238
Bourinot, p. 235.
Can. Hist., R.,
p. 238.

arrive too late to head off the expulsion. A letter from the Lords of Trade, dated Aug. 15, shows their alarm at the measures he had indicated and forbade any such action, but whether this letter came late or was received and disregarded is not certainly known. At all events, Lawrence did not reply to the Aug. 15 letter until Nov. 20, when a state of war practically existed, and in the pressure of greater matters small ones were forgotten or passed over. But his conduct in this matter and others was to be examined into just before his sudden death. As has been stated before, the Acadians were scattered over the peninsula of Nova Scotia and also along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Many of them had in the course of time taken up residence in Prince Edward Island and different places of the mainland north of Nova Scotia. From the time Acadia came into English hands this emigration had been going on quite constantly. After 1748 it grew very large, so that a census made in that year indicates the population as 12,500, and six years after there were but 9215 in the peninsula. At this time only the peninsula was in English hands; France held the rest of Canada and the huge fortress of Louisberg near by.

Roberts, p. 126. The isthmus uniting the peninsula to the rest of Canada was the virtual boundary and the subject of rival claims. The people of Beaubassin, Beausejour and other places on this isthmus were in a very disturbed state throughout the hostilities of those years. But the great centres of population on the peninsula itself, including the most prosperous and peaceful of the Acadian people, were little affected by these migrations and became the direct prey of the deporters. This explains the issue of the carefully laid plans of Lawrence.

**Gathering the
People.**

Rich. II, p. 109. On Sept. 12, 1755, the machinery of the movement was set in motion. The people had already been disarmed; now detachments were sent to the different villages to summon them under pretext of an important announcement. What was left of the population of Beaubassin, after the French retreat following the capture of Beausejour, listened to the proclamation with suspicion, and a

good number took to the woods. At Annapolis, in the same way, the people who were always more or less on the alert, started for the forest without delay, but in the Mines district both the character of the people and the extra care of the English contributed to a complete surprise.

For convenience it will be well to distinguish three periods in the deportation: first the peninsula expulsion of 1755; second, the one which took place in 1758, after the final fall of Louisberg, and lastly, the fate of those who eluded the pursuers and took refuge inland, or emigrating from various places in the colonies whither they had been sent, wandered back to Nova Scotia. The statistics of the expulsion are far from complete or satisfactory. Practically the only exact and detailed account is contained in the journal of Winslow: the accounts for the other places have been laboriously worked out by Casgrain and Rameau. Hence the estimates of the first deportation vary largely from 6000 to 7500, though some have put the number much higher. However, since reliable data show that in 1754 there were little more than 9000 in the peninsula it is easy to come to a conclusion. Rameau and Casgrain, two very respectable authorities on the subject, state that in 1755, 6000 were exported. Bancroft would make them 7000 in number. While it is not to the purpose to paint any picture of the trouble caused to the exiles, it is pertinent to state the fact that in the nature of the case their lot was most wretched. The stroke came as a surprise; things were so arranged that they could not turn anything into money, and even if it had been permitted buyers would have been hard to find. The prosperity of these people consisted in things that could not be taken off easily, or at all, lands, houses, live stock. They were hurried on board small vessels with military haste and pitilessness, carrying what they could snatch at the time. The ships were so crowded that carrying much was out of the question. They were a people unaccustomed to leave home and entirely unprepared for such a journey. It would have been hard

Periods of
Deportation.

Winslow.

Number of 1755
Deportation.

Winslow, *Jour.*,
p. 82, 87, 160,
179.
Hannay, C. H.
K., p. 146.
Greswell, p. 121.
Thwaite's *Col.*,
p. 243.
Fiske, H. U. S.,
p. 170.
Roberts, p. 130.
Rameau, *Col. F.*,
p. 142 (in 7),
144 (11n).
Bourinot, p. 236.
Rich. II., p. 122.

to find a collection of individuals on whom such a fate would have fallen with more crushing effect. In order to give some idea of the prosperity of the Acadians in 1755, it will be in order to state that in the District of

Rameau, F. aux C., I., p. 45. Mines 4000 people were removed, 400 houses and 500 barns burnt, 2000 steers, 3000 cows, 5000 calves, 600

horses, 12,000 sheep and 800 pigs were confiscated. There had been little exchange of money among the Acadians, they had little use for it, but at this time money was the only thing that would have made their lot supportable.

Destination. The number who landed at different ports of the colonies is only approximately known. With the exception of

Rich. II., p. 230, 249, 253. Rameau, F. aux C., I., p. 57(n), 139 (n), 140, 145 (n). Casgrain, Pel., p. 163. Rich. II., p. 240.

Boston, where nearly 2000 were put ashore, only a small number were left at other Northern ports. Connecticut received for its share 300; New York 200. The remainder were distributed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Georgia and the Carolinas. These last numbered in some two or three places some 4000. The 1500 who were disembarked in South Carolina were first distributed in the settlements, but finally obtained two old ships, and after many vicissitudes and much reduced in number reached the mouth of the St. John, and finally Nova Scotia, where they were imprisoned. It is stated that many of the descendants of the Acadians remain in South Carolina at the present day. A few at first drifted to Louisiana, but were reinforced by some who had been wind-driven to San Domingo and Guinea. Others came from New England and Canada. Today their descendants in Louisiana number more than 50,000.

Acadia after 1755 Deportation.

Rich. II., p. 270. Bancroft II., p. 430. Rameau, F. C., p. 146 (n22).

The act of deportation by no means ceased with the year 1755. After that first expulsion there still remained on the river St. John, the Gulf shores and in Prince Edward Island 10,000 Acadians. About 1500 of these went to Quebec by the St. Lawrence between 1756 and 1758; some hundreds ascended the St. John River in 1759 and 1760 and settled in the district of Three Rivers, where their descendants form a compact settlement to-day. Disease played havoc with these travellers. Hence there remained in 1758 about 8000 in the maritime

provinces, nearly 5500 of these in Prince Edward Island. The importance of this settlement began in 1749, when Beausejour was founded. When Le Loutre burned the houses of the isthmus and drove the people across the line they went to Prince Edward Island and settled there. Then after 1755 this settlement was much increased by other fugitives. Here they remained at peace while France held that part of the country. After the capture of Louisberg Boscawin arranged the deportation of all these people on the pretext that they were fugitives from Nova Scotia. The exact number deported at this time, as in 1755, is not known. It ranges from 3000 to 4000. Some were sent to England, where half of them died from different causes; others were left in France, at St. Malo, Boulogne and other ports, some went to the Island of Jersey, where Le Loutre looked after them. A part never arrived in Europe at all because the ships on which they were embarked were rotten hulks and went down at sea.

At the peace of 1763, the Acadians found themselves pretty well scattered. Most of the Mines and Port Royal people had been sent to the Atlantic coast colonies, though some went as far as Cuba. All the exiles in the American colonies who were able made an attempt to get back to Acadia. About two hundred families carried this plan into effect; 800 started from Boston in 1766 to walk back through the woods of Maine; some who had gone to South Carolina sailed back in two old vessels. These made a rendezvous at the River St. John, and from there they started out again for Nova Scotia, where the most hardy of them arrived after months of privation. They were imprisoned at Halifax, and after the peninsula was well stocked with Englishmen they were permitted to take possession of certain wild and arid coasts. This is the origin of the present colony of St. Mary's Bay near Cape Sable. Strange to say, after all the proscriptions and violence certain families seem to have eluded all pursuit and remained in Nova Scotia all the time and

Boscawin's
Deportation,
1758.

Roberts, p. 18.
Rich. II., p. 254.
2^d v., 255, 276.
Rameau, F. C.
L., 141 (105)

Return of Ex-
iles.

Rich. II., p. 125

St. Mary's Bay
Colony.

formed little communities here and there. The number of these was of course small.

It has been thought best, for the sake of clearness, to practically finish up the story of the Acadians of Nova Scotia before saying much of those who either escaped from the proscription of 1755, or that of 1758, or who wandering back to Acadia from the South, found homes along the way, went to Canada, or took up the lot of the pioneers of Madawaska.

Summary of Deportation.

To sum the whole matter up, at the year 1755, there were in Acadia, on the peninsula, the shores of the Bay of Fundy and Prince Edward Island at least 18,000

Rich. II. p. 33⁸, Acadians. About 6500 were sent to different ports of 341. Rameau, C. F., the Atlantic colonies; 700 at one time or another took II., p. 226. Rameau, F. aux C., II., p. 66. Bourinot, p. 231. Parkman, M. & W. I. p. 293. refuge in what is now New Brunswick; 500 or 600 remained in Nova Scotia with the Indians; 1500 were sent from the colonies to England; 4000 sent direct to Europe in 1758. Of this number, 600 died in England, 400 went down in shipwreck, 900 died in passage, 1500 perished in colonies; 4500 disappeared without leaving much sign, of old age, misery and hardship.

THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

River St. John.

It has been pointed out that a large number of the Acadians living outside the peninsula of Nova Scotia escaped the deportation of 1755, remaining in their retreats or making their way to more remote places. Some of these fugitives fell under the proscription of 1758 and were taken to England, but others, for example, those who took refuge on the River St. John, went through different experiences. One of the retreats, and perhaps the

Ancient Colony. Rich. II., p. 255, 279, 305, 324, 327. Ganong in C. H. R., p. 74. Charlevoix I., p. 254. Greswett, p. 112. Roberts, p. 29, 52. Rameau, F. C. I., p. 145 (n). The most frequented of the exiled Acadians, was the River St. John. The colony in early times seems to have received no other name than that derived from the river. This colony, though so small that it is hardly thought worthy of being included in many of the censuses, was very ancient. In fact, it was one of the first places known to the French settlers of Poutrincourt's group. A circumstantial account of it is found in the Denys narrative.

History centres about the mouth of the river where stood the fort attacked by D'Aulnay while LaTour was absent and the place defended by his wife; and the ancient seigneurie of Jemseg or Jemsek, later called the parish of Ekouipak, some forty leagues from the river mouth. This part of the country was conceded as a seigneurie to the Damour family, who were already installed there in 1686. In 1693, there were 21 inhabitants; in 1698, 50; in 1739, 116. As regards the establishment at the mouth of the river, Casgrain writes:—

"Some of D'Aulnay's colonists, attracted as LaTour had been, by ^{See appendix 1.} the advantages of the place as a harbor, established themselves there. They formed in 1755 a little colony protected by the fort Menangoueche, where the government of Canada kept a garrison. In consequence of the devastations of 1755, the little colony was destroyed or dispersed."

Mitchel's map of 1755 indicates Jemsek some leagues up the river on the borders of a lake, and a little to the East on the same borders is a place marked "Acadian village." Concerning this village, the boundary statement presented to the King of the Netherlands says: "The remote situation of an Acadian village, which as first laid down in Mitchel's map, was at first near the East branch of the St. John, near the Lake Fran^çaise, or Grand Lake, preserved its inhabitants from being transported and dispersed with the rest of the original French inhabitants of Acadia."

Hither came some fugitives immediately after the deportation. One of the vessels of the deportation sailing from Port Royal, was captured by the Acadians on board and beached in the River St. John. There were 226 people on board this ship. Their story may be read in Casgrain (Pel. p. 165). In 1756, some of those deported to South Carolina, arrived at the River St. John in two small vessels. The number is put as 900. Other fugitives came in from time to time, until there were at one time from 1200 to 1400 Acadians gathered here. A memoir of De Vaudreuil states that food became scarce and that the people were forced to migrate. A large

Jemsek.

Casg. Pel. p. 162,
165.
Rameau, F. aux
C. I., p. 143
(1710), 145.

Rendezvous on St.
John, 1756-58.

number went to Quebec. Some went up the river and continued on to Three Rivers. Others became pirates and harassed British commerce. Those who remained were surprised in 1758 by a party under Monckton and driven up the river. Some may have lingered in the woods in the vicinity, but when the party of 800 arrived from Boston in 1766, through the Maine woods, it is not stated that they met any of their brethren, though it is stated that at Peticodiac they came upon certain hunters whom they recognized as Acadians. However, it is worth while stating that both Rameau and Casgrain incline to the view that this Boston party halted, not at the mouth of the St. John, but rather in the vicinity of Frederickton, in the village of St. Anne.

**Expelled by
Monckton, 1758.**

Casg. Pel., p.

^{237.}
Raymond in C.

H. R., p. 281.
Roberts, p. 180.

**Expelled by
Hazen.**

St. Anne, 1759.

Raymond in C.

H. R., p. 281.

**Expelled by
Bulkley, 1766.**

Raymond in C.

H. R., p. 280.

^{334.}
Casg. Pel., p.

^{240.}

It is pretty well settled that the larger number who remained in New Brunswick went up the river and some miles above the site of Frederickton founded the village of St. Anne. This village was attacked early in the year 1759 by a party of New England Rangers under Hazen; 6 women and children were killed and 23 prisoners were taken. The village was burned. A local historian, by name Perley, states that in 1762, his grandfather with an exploring party found "the devastated settlements of the French and the blackened remains of their buildings which had been mercilessly burned." In 1761, Governor Bulkley reported that there were 40 Acadians at this place who had not made submission. They were ordered to leave without even gathering their crops. Again, in

1766, Bulkley directed all these people in the vicinity, except 6 families, to be chosen by the priest, Father Bailly, to remove. A letter written by this Fr. Bailly from Ekouipahan to Bishop Briand, June 20, 1768, states that there were 11 Acadian families living near this place.

These people were nomadic, hunting and fishing. These statements have been grouped together because they are somewhat contradictory. It is strange that the fugitives of Monckton's attack in 1758 could have gone to Frederickton and by 1759 have built a village and cleared lands to such an extent that in 1762 the ruins would be

much in evidence after Hazen's attack. However, since the land was not densely wooded near the river bank and the Acadians were expert woodsmen, they may have accomplished this in the time given. According to the account the settlement of St. Anne must have been in 1759 one of some growth and importance. Not only this, but some authorities state that the village flourished up to the close of the American Revolution. If this be true, they must have returned to the site of the burned village after 1762 and rebuilt, or else built elsewhere near by and called the second village St. Anne, and meanwhile have disobeyed the commands of Bulkley and eluded any attempts to dislodge them. There were even some Acadians at the mouth of the St. John in 1769, for they were employed by the founders of that place in diking a large marsh near the present city. Of course, New Brunswick was practically untenanted except by Acadians and Indians up to the close of the Revolution, if one excepts a few small settlements by English. They were nomadic and accustomed to living in the woods, hence it would be hard to keep them out except by a garrison maintaining practical war all the time.

The Acadian settlement on the Kennebecasis seems to have remained in existence up to 1788, at least at that date certain settlers emigrated thence further inland. All this goes to show that the Acadians haunted the interior of New Brunswick well up to the year 1783 or after. But hunted as they were from place to place, their settlements for the most part can have been little better than encampments, and when the fugitives went farther inland hardly any vestiges of occupation remained.

The Acadian settlement on the Kennebecasis not far from the fief of Jemsek seems to have rested undisturbed up to the year 1788 or after. All this goes to show that the fugitive Acadians haunted the lower St. John well up to 1783. Rameau and Casgrain mention Fredericton as the main depot of the N. B. Acadians after 1755, making the pilgrimage of 1766 from Boston arrive there instead

Raymond, p. 383.

Hennebecasis.

Raymond in H. R., p. 283.

Lower St. John.

Raymond, C. H.

Rameau, I. aux

Ind. C. I.

1755, p. 178.

of lower down near the river mouth. In connection with the Acadian residence in this district, it may be well to quote the letter of Fr. Baily, noted above, to show how the Acadians employed themselves while here:

See appendix 2. "There are eleven Acadians families on the outskirts of the village, the same ones whom Your Lordship kindly confirmed at Saint Anne. The Acadians who have remained among the English are still very fervent; their only fault is a great wrongheadedness, either on the subject of each remaining in his own district and being unwilling to unite with the rest; or in the matter of land which they want to hold under the old time conditions, responsible to the king alone. This is the reproach of the English who detest them. The government is not willing to give them land on this condition, yet exacts from them an oath of fidelity. It is a hard task to attend to them, for they live in districts apart from one another, during the summer on the seashore fishing, and in the winter in the woods hunting."

What provincial enactments and divers military salutes, from 1758-1783, failed to accomplish was finally brought about by another means. The end of the Revolution found the lot of the Tories in the new republic far from pleasant; several of them were hanged, and others shot. After the treaty of Paris they came in large numbers over the line into New Brunswick. The English government owed many obligations to these people, who, whatever their faults, had deserved well of the mother country. The government fulfilled these obligations by giving the Loyalists and disbanded soldiers large grants in New Brunswick. The Loyalists found Acadians on these grants. The English government, though it seems to have disapproved of the cruelties of Hazen, did not wish to interrupt the English settlements along the lower St. John by a French settlement at Fredericton; the Acadians were again ordered to remove. These orders the Loyalists ably seconded, as may be seen from Casgrain:

See appendix 3. "The establishment at the River St. John became a living hell for the Acadians who held to their lands. Some of them went away to join their dispossessed brethren who had founded the Madawaska colony."

There seems to be some warrant for this strong language; at all events the Loyalists speedily made the region of the lower St. John as uncomfortable as the Americans had made the United States for them, so that the Aca-

dians were willing to abandon their farms and improvements and start out into the wilderness again. This was between 1783-5. The Acadian current was finally set in the direction of Madawaska. Casgrain and Rameau, in various places, insinuate without references that parties of the Acadians had gone to Madawaska before this time—shortly after the events of 1755, in fact. An account given in the Maine Superintendent of Schools' report for 1897 speaks of the French as passing above Grand Falls and settling in the valley of the upper St. John in 1756. Mr. Stetson states that this account is derived from Acadian traditions. Whatever may be the foundation for these statements, the first authenticated account is that in 1785 or 6, the Acadian vanguard, composed of about 20 families, forced out of the Fredericton region by the Loyalists, determined to be secure from further interference, went far up the St. John, past the site of modern Woodstock, carried around the great falls of the St. John near the boundary line between the United States and New Brunswick, and entered into the long, narrow, rich valley of the upper St. John.

"In 1784 the expatriated of 1755 located at the River St. John were anew dispossessed in favor of American loyalists and disbanded soldiers. These unfortunate families powerless against force could do nothing but betake themselves to the forests. They ascended the River St. John, thirty leagues from any habitation, and axe in hand opened up the plains of Madawaska."

MADAWASKA.

The River St. John, above Grand Falls, checked by massive rock formations, spreads out and becomes much wider than it is for miles below. For nearly 100 miles it flows between high banks which are densely wooded. The writers quoted generally speak of the locality as mountainous, a description hardly exact, for the region is rather hilly, but without heights of importance. In the process of time immense low-lying meadows or intervale have been formed of great fertility on account of

Casgrain p. 239.

Emigration to
Madawaska.

See appendix 3.

p. 239.

Valley of Upper
St. John.Jackson Geol.
Report 1836

the periodical irrigation. Though high ground and even cliffs are characteristic of the land skirting this valley, the shore in some places is low and stretches off in immense plains extending far inland. This is especially the case at Fort Kent, where the junction of the Fish River with the St. John has formed alluvial soil. Jackson's Report for 1836 describes the geological formation of this part of the State, as well as the characteristic features of the territory. The report of Hamblin, the land agent, in 1839 says: "Upon a glance at the public lands it will be seen that the fertile valley of the St. John River extends through the whole breadth of the northern part of the State, and with the Aroostook valley includes above one-third part of our whole territory."

The Acadian vanguard traversed this valley for some 30 miles before it halted on the south side of the river, two or three miles below the Madawaska and the present town of Edmonston. The French found here two Canadians keeping a trading house. Both these men were to figure in the political history of later years. Mr. Deane in his admirable letter to Gov. Smith, written in 1828, gives this account of them: In 1782, a Canadian boy named Pierre Lizotte wandered away from home and lived for some months with the Maliseet Indians of the St. John. On his return home, he induced his half-brother, Pierre Duperré, to go back to the Madawaska region with him, and here in 1783 they set up a trading house, where the Acadians found them, and not far from the spot where John Giles, in his narrative of captivity among the Maliseets, relates that he found an old Indian keeping a trading station.

Maine Resolves,
1832.

Raymond, C. H.
R., 1900.

The valley of the upper St. John, while there is no record of its occupation by whites prior to Lizotte's coming, had been long known to the French. Champlain's map of 1612 faintly delineates the district. Francklin's map of 1686 mentions the name Madawaska, applying it to Lake Temisquata. The name itself is from the Indian word Med-a-wes-kek, signifying "porcupine place,"

or "junction of rivers." It was softened by the French into Madoueska, and changed by the English into the unmusical Madawaska.

There is no necessity of assuming that the twenty families who arrived in the upper valley in 1784-5 stumbled on the place by accident or settled there by an accident. On the contrary, such information as has been handed down shows the contrary. During the Revolution Gov. Haldimand utilized the St. John as a postal route. In a letter written Nov. 27, 1783, to Gov. Parr, he states that he has been informed by Louis Mercure, one of the Acadian couriers, that the French wished to come to Quebec for the sake of their religion. He suggested that it would be a good plan to establish them at Grand Falls. Long before this time, the couriers de bois, who ranged all over the country in their fur trade, must have informed the people at St. Ann of the nature of the country above the Falls. The British commissioner, Holland, in his report to the governor, stated July 26, 1787, that he met Capt. Sproule, Surveyor General of New Brunswick, at Madawaska. He mentions the repugnance expressed by the Acadians to the idea of being separated from the province of New Brunswick. Later on in this same report he says: "I informed the people disposed to settle on the spots Mr. Finlay pointed out as most convenient for the establishment of post houses on the road. They in general were inclined to settle from the Falls up the St. John as far as Madawaska, the land thus far being good, but from there to the St. Lawrence I found them much averse to settle, owing to the barrenness of the land in general." This, when considered with the statement that lands were promised the Acadians on leaving the lower St. John, and with the letter of Gov. Haldimand revealing an intention of building a settlement in this locality which would facilitate postal service and colonize the country between the St. John and the St. Lawrence, shows almost conclusively that the Acadian settlement was part of a plan originating with the Eng-

*Gov. Haldimand,
1783.*

*Raymond, C. H.
R. N. L., 1885.*

In N. E. Boundary Doc.

lish government. No doubt whatever would exist on the point were there not most positive testimony to the contrary.

Maine
Documents on
Settlement.

Deane.

Maine doc., 1828-

41.

The State documents of the New England boundary dispute deal largely with the Acadians of Madawaska. The two men who were best informed on this head were Messrs. Deane and Davies, the American commissioners. They travelled through the district in 1828, and have left their judgments on record. First, Mr. Deane: "The Acadians, or neutral French, whose ancestors had been settled at the head of the Bay of Fundy, or in that country now called Nova Scotia, and had been driven from thence and had established themselves at St. Ann's, now Fredericton, and in that region, being disturbed by the introduction of the refugees and the acts of the governor of New Brunswick, which dispossessed them of their farms, fled up the St. John in search of places of residence out of the reach of British laws and oppression; 20 or more families moved and settled themselves on the St. John, below the trading station, which Pierre Duperre had made a few years before. Here they continued in unmolested enjoyment of their property for some years."

Davies.
Resolves, 1828.

Next, Mr. Davies: "It may be proper to advert to the situation of a colony of French settlers which planted itself within our territory, principally, if not entirely, since the acknowledgment and establishment of the bounds of Massachusetts by the treaty of 1783. Situated near the borders of the American territory, they appear to have preserved their neutral character and to have remained as a people by themselves, so far as they might be permitted by their position toward the province of New Brunswick. Without having any sympathy with the system established in that government, they have not been in a condition to oppose the exercise of any power that might be exerted over them."

Both these documents evince throughout a conviction on the part of the writers that the Acadians settled in Madawaska of their own volition; and whatever the

English may have done in their regard was done against their wishes.

Both these documents date from 1828 at the earliest. The information on which they were built is not given; the documents were arguments in the boundary claim, gotten up long after the actual settlement. There is no evidence extant to prove that the State of Maine knew anything of the Madawaska settlement prior to 1817, when certain Kennebec men settled above it on the same river. The State of Maine claimed all the land as far up as the St. Lawrence watershed, and the commissioners wished to prove that the settlements within this territory were effected without British co-operation. But in the light of the evidence the claim in regard to the French settlement seems unwarranted. Another fact which shows how thoroughly the English had taken possession of the new settlement is found in the court records of Quebec. In the court of common pleas, proceedings were commenced in 1789 and continued to Jan. 20, 1791, in a suit for damages brought by Pierre Duperré and Augustine Dubé, residing at Madawaska. Both these men were Canadians.

**N. E.
Boundary
Dispute.**

Relative to Duperré, who figures more anon, Mr. Deane has this to say: "Pierre Duperré being a man of some learning had great influence with his neighbors, and the British authorities of the province of New Brunswick, seeing his consequence in the settlement, began early to caress and flatter him. In the year 1790 they induced him to receive from them a grant of the land he possessed. Influenced as well by Duperré as with the hope of not being again disturbed and driven from their possessions as they and their ancestors more than once had been by the British, this large body of Frenchmen were all induced to receive grants from New Brunswick of the land they possessed, for which some paid 10 shillings and others nothing."

Duperré.
Deane, p. 10.

Though the Acadians of Madawaska did not bother their heads about town politics, and seemingly found a

Petition to
Bishop of
Quebec.

See appen.

way to dispense with the elaborate political machinery that is part of every American village, they very quickly took the initiative and showed that they understood the right of petition when they thought the occasion required it. In 1792, 24 heads of families acting for 31 families, the total number in the settlement, made up a petition to the Archbishop of Quebec, asking permission to build a church. This petition is a curiosity in its way and is appended. It is the only authentic document of an early date emanating from the people themselves. It shows quite conclusively the number in Madawaska at the time. Moreover, it shows that from the first the Canadian element had an important part in the settlement of this territory. The good priest who drew up the petition (for the people could neither read nor write), took care to indicate in the margin beside each signature the nationality of the signer. Nearly half the signers were Canadians. The Acadian names are quite distinctive, and can generally be easily known from the Canadian. The names, Ayotte, Souci, Gagne, Levassour, Denoye and Mazzerol, are Canadian; the rest Acadian.

To His Lordship,

John Francis Hubert, Bishop of Quebec, etc.:

The people of Madawaska, York County, Province of New Brunswick, on the St. John River, your most obedient children in God, having been informed of the prohibition against building a church or chapel without Your Lordship's permission, take the liberty in all respect of placing before your eyes certain reasons which they consider good and well-founded for obtaining this permission.

See appendix 4.

The undersigned petitioners, Your Lordship, have in all this region no fit church or chapel for the celebration of divine service during the time of the mission. Thus far necessity has obliged them to hold these services in some poor bark hut, the poverty and misery of the few inhabitants, none of whom have been here more than seven years, permitting nothing else. But now that the number of people is multiplied by the richness of the soil which attracts strangers, there is every hope that the establishment will be permanent. The first idea and design of the inhabitants is to build in wood a decent and proper chapel according to the means of the people, who cannot but increase. It is impossible to find in this region sufficient material to build in stone. Thus, having explained their need, unanimous among themselves and with the Indians, who, delighted with the idea of the French, have promised to contribute to the expenses of the building, the petitioners most humbly beg Your Lordship to approve of their project and to grant your consent so that they may go to work as soon as possible. Entirely convinced and assured of obtaining your

approbation, they have before the departure of the Indians made with these the necessary agreements. We, the chosen church-wardens for conducting the work, have promised and do now promise that after Your Lordship's approbation has been given, they will work together peaceably to finish the project in hand in such a manner as to merit your protection and render the establishment worthy of your remembrance. The undersigned know of no titular or patron of their region, and humbly ask Your Lordship that in permitting them to build a chapel you will be pleased to accord them a patron saint as a protector of their new settlement. Your humble petitioners will not cease to raise their feeble prayers to heaven for the conservation of your illustrious person, so necessary for the welfare of the faithful and particularly for that of the undersigned, who believe themselves most honored to be counted in the number of your most respectful and obedient children in God.

Marque de †Joseph Degle le Marguerite

“ †Jacques Sir 2d Marg.
“ †Alexandre Ayotte 3
“ le Marg.
“ †J. Bte Sir.
“ †Francios Sir.
“ †Olivier Tibaudo.
“ †Paul Sir.
“ †Jos Souci.
“ Pierre Syr.
“ †Antoine Gagne,
“ †Francois Albert.

Marque de †Joseph Guimon.

“ †Alexandie Albert.
“ †Mathurin Beaulieu.
“ †Joseph Degle fils.
“ †Jean Levasseur.
“ †Baptiste Degle.
“ †J. B. Denoyer.
“ †Simon Hebert.
“ †Germain Souci.
“ †Olivier Tibaudo fils.
“ †J. B. Tibaudo fils.
“ †J. B. Nasserol.
“ †Louis Sanfacon.

Seven inhabitants of the said locality being absent were not able to sign, but before their departure they have testified that they would approve whatever would be decided upon by the assembly.

Madawaska, July 23, 1792.

J. H. PAQUET, Ptre missre.

A letter from Fr. Dionne, quoted by Rameau, states that the names of the Madawaska Acadians show that they are come of the purest Acadian blood, nearly all the families being derived from the original families of 1671. The petition was granted and the church, dedicated to St. Basil, was built on the north side of the St. John, some five miles below the Madawaska. From its archives the petition has been copied. These archives, running back to 1792, show some other facts about the early history of the colony. The first recorded baptism in that year is of a Daigle, an Acadian; the next two, Soucy and Sanfacon, are both Canadian.

After the Acadians had received their grants they seem to have settled down to undisturbed peace for some years. Mr. Deane's letter has some information on this head:

Rameau, I. aux
C., app. 8

“A few families established themselves in 1807 a few miles above the mouth of the Madawaska River. They all lived in mutual good-fellowship, recognizing and practising the duties of morality and religion and governed solely by the laws of honor and common sense. They continued to live in this manner to as late a period as 1818, and the British had made no grant higher up the St. John than those mentioned above, unless the transportation of the mail through to Canada and the granting of a commission to Pierre Duperre in 1798 as captain of militia, there being no military organization until 28 years afterwards, may be called acts of jurisdiction. In 1798 the River St. Croix was determined, and its source ascertained under the treaty called Jay’s treaty. At this period terminated all acts and pretences of acts of jurisdiction in the Madawaska settlement by the British for a period of 20 years, and until it was discovered by them that Mars Hill was the northwest angle of New Brunswick.”

“About this time, 1790, another body of the descendants of the Acadians or neutral French, who had sought refuge on the Kennebecasis river, were there disturbed in their possessions and in like manner sought a refuge with their countrymen at Madawaska. After having residence at Madawaska some years they were induced, as their countrymen had been, to receive grants of the land they had taken into possession from the Governor of New Brunswick.”

C. H. R., 1900,
P. 339.

For the names of the original grantees, I cannot do better than quote from the admirable paper, entitled “Notes on Madawaska,” by Rev. W. O. Raymond, which has been referred to many times during these pages:

British Grantees,

First Grant.

“The grantees of Acadian origin on the New Brunswick side were Louis Mercure, Michel Mercure, Joseph Mercure, Alexis Cyr, Oliver Cyr, Marie Marguerite Daigle, Jean Baptist Daigle, Paul Cyr, Pierre Cyr, Alexandre Cyr, Jean Baptiste Thibodeau, Jr., Joseph Thibodeau, Etienne Thibodeau. The grantees of Acadian origin on the Amer-

ican side of the river were Simon Hebert, Paul Potier, Jean Baptiste Mazerolle, Jr., Francois Cyr, Jr., Joseph Daigle, Sr., Joseph Daigle, Jr., Jacques Cyr, Francois Cyr, Firmin Cyr, Sr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, Jr., Michel Cyr, Joseph Hebert, Antoine Cyr, Jean Martin, Joseph Cyr, Jr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, Sr., Firmin Cyr, Jr., Jean Thibodeau, Sr., Joseph Mazerolle. In addition to these there are several grantees, whose descendants claim to be of Acadian origin, and say their ancestors came from the 'lower country' (pays-bas); but I am not able to determine whether the following are undoubtedly of Acadian origin or not, viz.: Louis Saufacon, Mathurin Beaulieu, Joseph Ayotte, Zacharie Ayotte, Alexandre Ayotte.

"Respecting the grantees who are undoubtedly of Canadian origin, those on the New Brunswick side of the river are Jean Tardiff, Jean Levasseur, Joseph Dumont (or Guimond) and Antoine Gagnier; and those on the American side, Joseph Sausier, Jean Marie Sausier, Jean Baptiste Fournier, Joseph Au Clair, Francois Albert, Pierre Lizotte, Augustin Dubé and Pierre Duperré.

"The second grant, made in the year 1794, extended from Green river (with many vacancies) to a little below Grand river. Some six names that occur in the former grant are omitted from the enumeration that follows. Several of the settlers in this grant are known to have formerly lived at French Village, on the Kennebecasis. The names of those Acadians who settled on the east side of the St. John are as follows: Olivier Thibodeau, Baptiste Thibodeau, Joseph Theriault, Joseph Theriault, Jr., Olivier Thibodeau, Jr., Jean Thibodeau, Firmin Thibodeau, Hilarion Cyr, and there seem to have been but two Canadians, viz.: Louis Ouellette and Joseph Souci. Those Acadians, who settled on the American side, are as follows: Gregoire Thibodeau, Louis LeBlanc, Pierre Cormier, Alexis Cormier, Baptiste Cormier, Francois Cormier, Joseph Cyr, Jr., Firmin Cyr, Joseph Cyr, Francois Violette, Sr., and Augustin Violette; and there are three

Second Grant.

Canadians, viz.: Joseph Michaud, Baptiste Charette and Germain Soucie."

Social Condition. It should be taken into consideration that there was little or no question of boundary lines at the time these grants were made, least of all among these simple people whose great hope was to find somewhere a refuge where they could cultivate their fields and live in peace. Whether the authorities of the State of Maine knew of the establishment before 1817 or not, there is little doubt that the Acadians knew very little of the new republic, and what little they knew would not make them anxious to take residence within its borders. Their experience with New England men had been unpleasant. There was no one to tell them that the United States claimed this territory; they simply settled there thinking the land was open to settlers, and borrowed no trouble. The whole history of the Boundary dispute, loaded with argument and heated with rhetoric, exhibits no direct evidence of any predilection on the part of the Acadians for any particular form of government whatever. They were self governing and desired merely to be let alone. They saw no necessity of holding a town meeting and organizing political machinery. Things were regulated as they had been in Acadia. Mr. Davies, in his report of 1828, states their condition very well:

Maine Resolves
1828, p. 780.

"Little occasion could be presented for the employment of criminal process among the relics of a primitive population represented as of a mild, industrious, frugal and pious character, desirous of finding a refuge under the patriarchal and spiritual power of their religion. It has been the custom for them to settle their civil affairs of every description, including their accidental disputes and differences by the aid of one or two arbiters or umpires associated with the Catholic priest, who is commonly a missionary from Canada."

In the American documents on the boundary matter it is stated that no American census of the Madawaska

settlement was taken up in 1810, because no decision had as yet been reached.

Though the State of Massachusetts had instituted a survey of the North of Maine for the treaty of 1782, some mistakes were made and there does not seem to have been any accurate knowledge of this part of the country until later. Mr. Davies in his 1828 report states: "It is not known whether any individual of European origin existed on this territory at the peace of 1782; or that, excepting aborigines, any other than descendants of French ancestors had made any occupation prior to the peace of 1815." Later on it is stated: "In 1817 an American was invited to seat himself near the mouth of the Madawaska river... This American afterwards moved away to a situation near the St. Francis."

In 1825, the Maine Legislature passed a resolve: "Whereas, there are a number of settlers on the undivided public lands on St. John and Madawaska rivers, many of whom have resided thereon for more than 30 years," . . . It would appear that 1817 was the time of the first American settlement and the first knowledge given to the State authorities of the population so long fixed there. "The first American settlement was made above the French and commenced from the clearest information in the year 1817. It consisted of several persons then citizens of Massachusetts who had moved from the Kennebec and established themselves with their families on different spots, the lowest at the mouth of the Mariumptieook, and the highest not far from the mouth of the St. Francis." The two oldest settlers were Nathan Baker and John Bacon.

In 1820 the American census of the district was *Census of 1820.* taken up, as Mr. Washburn remarks in his paper on the *Washburn in
Me. His. Soc
1874.* New England Boundary, without British interference. This document is appended. It is not in its original form entirely; that is the different classes into which the census officials divide people of different ages have been summed up for each family head. But the names are

American
Settlement.

Maine Resolves
1828, p. 704.

given as the census agent took them down, often with a Maine Report, 1828, p. 786. startling disregard for French orthography. Mr. Davies in his often mentioned report says concerning this census: "It amounted to over 1100. The computation probably included a number of American settlers, who had come into the country not long before." An inspection of the list will hardly warrant this statement, for with the exception of the name of Nathan Baker (above mentioned) there is hardly a distinctively American or English name. Besides Baker's name there is but one other which is familiar to English ears—Carney. It may be presumed that the census man knew how to spell English names, and the other names in this list are so atrociously misspelled that one is justified in assuming that they were foreign to his ears.

Extract of U. S. Census of 1820 for Matawaska:

Francis Violet	9	Lario Bellfley	6	Ran Pelkey	10
Alevey Tibedore	8	Nicholas Pelchey	6	Jarom Morio	9
Joseph Markure	1	John Betuke	5	Vasio Bare	9
Henry Turdey	7	Alexander Crock	4	Barnum Buschiere	7
Lewis Willet	15	John B. Tibedore	3d 8	Jermín Joshua	8
Jos. Sompishaw	6	Lewis Stephed	3	Betis Joshua	14
Susan Tibedore	11	Henry Versier	2	Ely Neehoson	10
Jeremiah Dubey	13	David Tibedore	5	Clemo Sminon	9
Lonor Sear	12	Michael Tibedore	5	Joseph Mashaw	12
Issac Violet	5	Peter Crock	7	John Harford	6
John Isaac Violet	9	John Betis Tibedore	2	John Hitchambow	8
Alexander Violet	7	Betis Lewsure	5	Lewis Leebore	5
John Mireshier	13	Joseph Lewsure	6	Paul Marquis	4
Peter Pelthey	5	Francis Tibedo	5	Gruino Chasse	5
Charles Martin	4	Jeremiah Crock	6	Joseph Michaud	11
John B. Martin	11	Harris Lawshiere	4	Albert Albera, Jr.	4
Bart. Burgoin	7	David Cyer	5	Alare An L. Clare	3
Andrew Martin	7	Charle Adyet	7	Joseph Martin	9
Belon Martin	4	Peter Duperre	3	Simon Martin	9
Bartis Morris	7	Peter Lezart	11	Joseph Albert	9
Charles Bolio	7	John Betisiere	10	Elecis Cyr	13
Peter McCure	6	Christopher Cyer	10	Joseph Cyr	11
Jerman Morio	9	Joseph Cyer	7	Benjamin Nedar	13
Bazell Martin	5	John Betis Dogle	10	Lewis Belflour	9
David Crock	10	Chrisost Cyer	12	Michael Mecure	8
Larison Violet	4	Joseph Adyet	7	Lewis Mecure	10
Lewis Sempishaw	7	Xasrie Cyr	12	Francis Martin, Jr.	11
Francis Carney	13	Joseph Daggel	9	Michale Martin, 3rd	10
Frederic Tareo	6	Demeque Daggel	6	Michael Serene	18
Simon Fred'c Tareo	10	Michael Babert	4	Lewis Belflour, Jr.	7
Peter Camio	9	Augustine Martin	6	Anthony Gange	11
Alexander Carmio	6	Michael Man	9	Nicholas Peltiere	18
Oliver Tibedore	6	Vincent Albert	5	Augustine Peltiere	3
Augustis Violet	13	Germanis. Sawuire	12	Nicholas Peltiere, Jr.	6

Francis Violet	5	Clement Sauciere	12	Leon Belflour	3
John B. Parser	5	Joseph Michaud	8	John Thobodeau	9
Greguire Tibedore	12	Isaac Violetrd	10	John B. Thobodeau	7
Paulet Tibedore	9	Fermin Nadard	10	Jean Siet	5
John B. Gavah	3	German Dube	9	Michael Thibodeau	5
Augustine Gavah	3	Nathan Baker	7	David Thibodeau	5
Phinney Stephedo	8	Colemarkee Chrint	12	Joseph Thibodeau	8
Benjamin Versier	4	Joseph Mashaw	21	George Thibodeau	8
Joseph Tarrio	5	Jeremy Jemer	12	Lewis Thibodeau	3
Lawrence Tarrio	7	Paul Marker	14	Jno. B. O. Thibedore	5
Phermah Dusett	11	Joseph Albare	7	Francis Dorsett	9
John B. Tibedore, Jr.	6	Levy Clare	8	Lorent Jenian	7
George Tibedore	10	Joseph Nedow	9	Joseph Jenian	5
Betis Tibedore	5	Mermeit Dogle	9	Benj. Lerassaus	4
John B. Tibedore	6	Joseph Pelkey	10	Honerd Lerassaus	10

This census may be considered as a fairly accurate survey of the families in this entire section at the time. There are 55 distinct family names for 1171 souls; one of these names is stated to be merely a nickname for an older family branch. Only 11 of the family names in the 1820 census figure in the original grants of 1790 and 1794. Of the whole number 7 families constitute one-third of the population, and if the name Crock is identified with Cyr the list is reduced to 6. The Cyr family had 98 or 124 members according to the reckoning. Thibodeau 163, Daigle 34, Martin 56, Theriault 28, Violette 64. Some of the Canadian families had many members, e. g., Pelletier 58. The palm is borne off by Michael Serene, who counts in his household 23 persons. It will be seen that all the prominent settlers who were to figure in the events of 1831 are already resident here and are counted in the census; among these are Lizotte, Duperre and Hebert. The only name recognizably American is that of Nathan Baker, who died soon afterward. His brother John married the widow, took charge of the property and has gone down in history with the title of General and in many other ways contributed to make the name of Baker famous in border annals. The men who were to obtain office in the abortive town meeting do not figure in this census at all.

In 1825, the Legislature passed the resolve relative to giving deeds to the American settlers on the St. John. In this the State of Massachusetts having a claim on these

lands agreed. In that same year the land agents went up to the territory and surveyed the land near the American settlement and made out two deeds, one to John Baker and the other to James Bacon. The British authorities were not at all pleased at the advent of the Americans. Various pretexts were taken to assert claims over them, among these being an alien tax. On their part, the Americans seem to have vindicated the character proper to free-men in foreign parts. They circulated a paper in form of a compact which bound them to adjust disputes without recurring to British authority. "As a prelude to this arrangement, the Americans generally assembled on land conveyed to John Baker by the States of Maine and Massachusetts and there erected a staff and raised a crude representation of the national eagle. They also partook of a repast provided by Baker and enjoyed the festivity in the manner that is usual to Americans in celebrating that occasion." No British authorities were invited to this flag raising, but it would seem that they were supposed to take notice of it. It was a throwing down of the gauntlet. The British took it up; they cut down the flag staff and carried the national emblem off to Fredericton jail. In this unobtrusive way the little cloud on the St. John grew until it (almost) assumed the importance of war. Mr. Deane states: "They (the British) issued legal processes against two citizens of the United States who had settled in the wilderness many miles beyond where the British had ever exercised any acts of jurisdiction before." Only one of these, the one against Baker, was ever prosecuted.

Letter to Gov. Smith.

While these things were going on in the small and active American settlement, the 1500 or more French further down the river were quietly occupying and clearing land. In accordance with their custom from the first, their business was done through Canadian channels. As early as 1797, a British Justice of the Peace had established himself at Madawaska; his name was Rice and he took part in the international politics of 1831. In order to show how thoroughly the jurisdictions of the United

States and Canada were mixed at this time it may be well to mention a deed to some French property in the valley *see appendix 6.* of the St. John.

As a matter of fact, though the British built forts and maintained garrisons, there was no serious outbreak until 1831. At that time the legislature incorporated the town of Madawaska, and early in that year the members of the American settlement came down to the French settlement to hold a town meeting and elect officers. Since the history of the facts is much more interesting in the words of the men who figured in the affair, and history by contemporaries is the order of the day, we will let them tell their own story. Deposition of John Baker, taken at Portland before F. O. J. Smith:

"I, John Baker, of lawful age, depose and say that I am a resident on the north side of the River St. John, about 12 miles above the mouth of the Madawaska river and within the territory incorporated by the name of the town of Madawaska, State of Maine. That I was present at a meeting of the inhabitants of the said territory holden in the latter part of August, last year, 1831, at the dwelling house of Peter Lezart, on the south side of the River St. John and within the limits of the said territory. Said meeting was holden pursuant to a warrant of Wm. D. Williamson, Esq., one of the justices of the peace throughout the State, directed to Walter Powers, one of the inhabitants of the said territory, to notify certain inhabitants to meet as aforesaid for the purpose of organizing a government of said town, *in* the choice of a moderator, town clerk and selectmen. Said inhabitants so assembled proceeded to the choice of the officers mentioned. Aforesaid Powers had called the meeting one Leonard Coombs, a captain in the militia in Madawaska, objected and protested against all further proceedings in the meeting and threatened the inhabitants aforesaid with imprisonment if they voted or took part in the fur-

Story of Trouble.
Maine Resolves
1829-35, p.p.
473-96.

ther proceedings contemplated in the warrant calling the meeting. One Francis Rice, a resident at Madawaska, and a justice of the Peace under the provincial government of New Brunswick, also protested against the meeting and used many opprobrious and threatening terms against the government and the authorities of the State of Maine, and against all persons who were taking part or participating in the organization of the town aforesaid. Mr. Powers, however, eventually succeeded in regaining order in the meeting and the inhabitants to the number of 50 or 60 who were present proceeded to the choice of Barnabas Hunnewell as moderator, Jesse Wheelock for town clerk and Dan. Savage, John Harford, Amos Maddocks for selectmen. But because of the threatening language and tenor used by Mr. Rice and Coombs, all of the persons present aforesaid did not vote in the choice of officers. After these proceedings the town meeting was adjourned sine die. About 12 or 15 persons voted in the said meeting. Another town meeting was holden for the choice of a representative on the 2nd Monday of September, 1831, pursuant to the provisions of the constitution of Maine. The meeting was holden at the house of Raphael Martin in said town of Madawaska, on the south side of the River St. John. Mr. Rice, the same mentioned above, was present and opposed the proceedings, protesting against the right of the inhabitants to hold the meeting, and again using menacing language towards them for participating in and countenancing it. But the selectmen called him to order and were allowed eventually to proceed to the business of the meeting. There were about 80 inhabitants present. Peter Lezart, a resident on the south side of the River St. John, was chosen for representative to the legislature. For the supposed purpose of intimidating the voters, Mr. Rice noted in writing the names and proceedings of all persons who voted. On the 25th day of the same September, 1831, it being on Sunday, I received information at my house that a military force was collecting at the Madawaska chapel on the north

side of the St. John river about 18 miles below me. On the same day orders were circulated among the inhabitants of the south side of the river and up as far as my house, directing the inhabitants to assemble the same day at the chapel aforesaid. I understood that one Musschurch, a French settler, carried these orders and made them known. On the same Sunday P. M. information was also brought that firearms to the number of 101 had already been collected at the dwelling house of one Simon Hebert, which is between my house and the chapel and about 15 miles below my house on the south side of the River St. John; said Hebert is a captain of the provincial militia of New Brunswick. The Governor of New Brunswick was also said to be present at the Hebert house. Reports brought to me on the evening of the same day and confirmed on the next morning informed me that the armed force at Hebert's house had made prisoners of and were detaining Mr. Dan. Savage and Mr. Wheelock, one of the selectmen and the town clerk aforesigned, on account of their participation in the proceedings of the town meetings already mentioned.* Each of these persons reside on the south side of the River St. John and it was the declared determination of these forces to take as prisoners all other persons who voted at said town meetings. About 12 o'clock or noon on the 25th day of September afore-

* (Letter from John Wheelock & Daniel Savage.)

To Roscoe G. Greene, Sec'y of State for Maine.—Sir: We commence this date at Capt. Simon Hebert's, Madawaska, Sept. 28, where we are held prisoners by the British authority for acting under a warrant from Wm. D. Williamson, Justice of the Peace for the County of Penobscot, in the State of Maine, to call a town meeting and act on town affairs agreeable to an act of the legislature of Maine incorporating this place into a town by the name of Madawaska, which warrant we have complied with according to law. The matter of our arrest is as follows. His Excellency, Sir. Arch. Campbell, Lieut. Gov. & commander in chief of the Province of N. B. arrived here on the 23 inst. with a company of the militia, the attorney Gen. of the Prov. & Mr. MacLaughlin and the sheriff of the county of York is said prov.—On the 24, he directed warrants to be issued against all those who acted at said meetings of giving in their votes, we the undersigned were arrested in this neighborhood on the 25th. On the 26th the sheriff & capt. Coombs with some militia ascended the river to Mr. Bakers to arrest those in that neighborhood, from thence to the St. Francis settlement excepted to return to-day — then we are to be sent to

said, I discovered about 20 canoes coming up the St. John, apparently in great haste, with one or more men in each. These landed just below my mills. I retreated to a distance and watched their movements. After examining my mills they proceeded to the other houses and searched them, also thence returned to my dwelling house, where they posted sentinels armed with muskets. While I remained in the woods, Mrs. Baker, my wife, came to me and informed me that Bart. Hunnewell, Dan. Been and several French settlers were held as prisoners by the soldiers then at my house—that Mr. Miller, the high sheriff of the Province of New Brunswick, had searched the house throughout and afterwards directed her to advise me to surrender myself to the British authorities, and that if I would go to Simon Hebert's house, where the Governor and the Attorney-General of the province then were, and give bail for my appearance at the courts at Fredericton, I should be released, that it was in vain for me to think of keeping out of the way, as they intended to keep up a garrison throughout the territory and force me into compliance to the British authorities."

Baker goes on to relate the things that befel him up to the time he escaped and went to Portland to make his deposition, which was taken as evidence for the boundary dispute. The two members of the unfortunate town government who fell into the hands of the British wrote to the Secretary of State of Maine, Sept. 28 of this year, re-

Fredericton jail—when the rest of our unfortunate countrymen arrive, we will inlist those names and numbers together with whatever information shall come to our knowledge. The families of them will be left in a deplorable situation (unless the gov.) will immediately relieve them. Our intention is to forward this by the way of Houlton as we pass through Woodstock. With high consideration.

Your humble servts.

JESSE WHEELOCK.
DAN. SAVAGE.

The sheriff returned last night with capt. Coombs and militia with about 30 French prisoners and 2 Americans, Barnabas Hunnewell and Dan Been—the rest of the Americans fled to the woods. We are now descending the river—stopped to-night about miles above Woodstock the 30th. N. B.—The French all gave bonds, some for trial and some for good behavor.

lating their misfortunes and among other things stating that the militia took about 30 of the French prisoners. These all gave bonds for appearance at Fredericton court.

The federal government was not so eager to proceed to extremes as were the State authorities, and so the trouble hung fire for some time. The subsequent military operations which with many strange happenings have gone down in history under the name of the Aroostook war, took place not along the shores of the St. John river, but along the Aroostook. The affair was finally settled by the Ashburton-Webster treaty in 1843. The line between Maine and Canada passed through the middle of the St. John river, thus cutting the Madawaska settlement in two.

The history of the boundary dispute comes into the history of the Madawaska settlement only by accident, but if it were not for this trouble and the investigation it made necessary, our knowledge of the early times in this part of the State would be much more obscure and legendary than it is. The occurrences have been related somewhat at length in order to show precisely the line taken by the French in the affair. It has been seen that the French were promised lands before leaving New Brunswick. This promise appears to have been kept. The land was surveyed and deeds given by the authority of the Province of New Brunswick. Later on a move was made to recruit militia among them, and though Mr. Deane says the Acadians objected to this, it is not necessary to allege that threats of force was used to make them join the militia, since one of their number had been appointed captain, and he the most important man in the settlement. When the American settlers came down to the Madawaska river to hold a town meeting, the inhabitants numbered nearly 2000 and the district was in a measure organized as a part of New Brunswick. There had been a provincial Justice of the Peace resident among them since 1797.

Baker's deposition is a significant document. It shows pretty well the political situation in Madawaska in the year 1831. The agitation for the town government was exclusively an American idea; the French apparently took no initiative in the matter. If the provincial government, seeing the importance and influence of Duperre in the settlement, began early to caress and flatter him, the Americans on their arrival in the country lost no time in attempting the same tactics with his half-brother. These two men exercised paramount influence in the settlement. In our days, they would be termed "bosses." Each party tried to gain the friendship of one of these men and so draw over the rank and file. The people at large were of course totally incapable of appreciating the merits of the controversy and had to take their cue from some leader. Such public opinion as there was before the advent of the Kennebec men would naturally be in favor of the Province of New Brunswick, if for no other reason, in default of another claimant. From that province they had received grants to their lands and such government as was exercised among them. Moreover, England had the advantage of possessing on the spot a force large enough to back up any claims her representatives might make. This was doubtless a convincing argument with the French, as it would be with any simple body of people so constituted. But there is no reason for making the hypothesis of fear to account for the action of the Acadians, for up to 1818 there was no other party in evidence.

In order to carry their point the Kennebec men went down to the French settlement; they assembled in the house of Lizotte, a man of influence, who would be able to collect several of his people. The 50 or more who assembled were undoubtedly Lizotte's friends and supporters. At this time the population of the district was not far from 2000; a large proportion of these were men old enough to vote. Yet after all only 50 came, and the party was so weak that the provincial authorities came into Lizotte's house and threatened him and his friends for

voting. These threats had so much influence that hardly any of the French voted. Evidently the arguments of Lizotte and his Kennebec friends were not very cogent.

The next meeting was practically a repetition of the first, though a strong bid for popular favor and votes had been made by the prospect of Lizotte's nomination to the State Legislature. Even with this dazzling prospect held out to the French the results were far from encouraging. Only 80 came to the meeting; it is not stated how many voted, but the proportion could not have been large or it would have been mentioned.

There is no evidence of a spontaneous outburst of American feeling among the French inhabitants; some were found to join the Kennebec men, as some can be found ready for almost any venture in a populous settlement. There was no adequate reason why the Acadians, knowing practically nothing of the State of Maine, having tasted no benefits from that commonwealth, should cease to let well enough alone, turn against the government in force among them, expose their families to possible exile and jeopardize the title to their lands, in order to espouse the cause of a small and turbulent group of strangers who had done little since entering the country except foment disturbance. There was absolutely nothing to gain and much to lose by such a procedure. Then the French cared not who got the territory; the only thing that concerned them was the title to their farms. They had no reason for allegiance to the State of Maine. They asked nothing except to be let alone and to cultivate their farms in peace.

After the meeting had been held and the militia chased the planners of it into the woods, and taken some French prisoners, we see that these prisoners made no difficulty about giving bonds to appear at the provincial court at Fredericton. From this time on to 1843, the Province of New Brunswick was practically left in control of the French settlement of Madawaska.

The state of society and education among the Madawaska French at this period is very well shown by Mr.

Jackson in his geological report for the year 1836.

"The whole tract between the Madawaska and this line (boundary), is settled by Acadians, and is known under the name of the Madawaska settlement. This district was incorporated as a town by the State of Maine, but difficulties having ensued as to the right of jurisdiction, it was agreed to leave the place in *status quo* until the claims of the two countries should be adjusted; an injunction being placed, by mutual agreement, against cutting of timber upon the disputed territory. It is well known that Maine regards the usurpation by the British authorities as unjustifiable, her unoffending citizens having been seized and committed to prison on no other pretence than their endeavor to carry into effect the laws of the State to which they belonged, by calling a town meeting. The population of Madawaska settlement is estimated at 3000 souls, 900 of whom live above the Little Falls. Most of the settlers are descendants of the French neutrals or Acadians who were driven by British violence from their homes in N. S. These people first established themselves above Fredericton, and subsequently removed above the Grand Falls and effected a settlement. The Acadians are a very peculiar people, remarkable for the simplicity of their manners and their fidelity to their employers. Although they are said to be "sharp at a bargain," they are remarkably honest, industrious and respectful and are polite and hospitable to each other and to strangers. It is curious to observe how perfectly they have retained all their French peculiarities. The forms of their houses, decorations of their apartments, dress, modes of cookery etc. are exactly as they originally were in the land of their ancestors. They speak a kind of patois or corrupted French, but perfectly understand the modern language as spoken in Paris. But few persons can be found who understand or speak English and these are such as from the necessities of trade have learned a few words of the language. None of the women or children either understand or speak English. The Acadians are a cheerful, contented and happy people, social in their intercourse and never pass each other without a kind salutation. While they thus retain all the marked characteristics of the French peasantry, it is curious that they appear to know but little respecting the country from which they originated and but few of them have the least idea of its geographical situation. Thus we were asked when we spoke of France, if it was not separated from England by a river, or if it was near the coast of Nova Scotia and one of them inquired if Bethlehem where Christ was born was not a town in France. Since they have no schools and their knowledge is but traditional, it is not surprising that they should remain ignorant of geography and history I can account for their understanding the pure French language by the circumstance that they are supplied with Catholic priests from the mother country, who of course speak to them in that tongue. Those who visit Madawaska must remember that no money passes current there but silver, for the people do not know how to read and will not take bank notes, for they have often been imposed upon since they are unable to distinguish between a \$5., 5 lb. or a 5 shilling note. As there are no taverns in this settlement every family the traveller calls on will furnish accommodations for which they expect a reasonable compensation; and he will always be sure of kind treatment, which is beyond price. I have been thus particular in speaking of the Acadian settlers of Madawaska, because little is generally known of their manners or customs, many people having the idea that they are demi-savages, because like the aboriginal inhabitants, they live principally by hunting."

Jackson — Report — 1836 — (p. 70 seq.).

It may be interesting also to see what the Americans who lived in that vicinity thought of their Acadian and Canadian neighbors. On Oct. 2, 1843, the year of the Ashburton treaty, some inhabitants of that part of the Maine Resolves. country wrote to Gov. Kavanagh as follows:

"It is well known to you that the settlements on the American side of the St. John extend, on the margin of the river, continuously from Ft. Kent to the easterly line of the State, a distance of nearly 60 miles, and from the same point westwardly with some interruptions to Little Black river at its intersection with the St. John, a distance of 30 miles more. The whole settlement is separated from the other settlements in the State of Maine by an unbroken forest of from 30 to 60 miles in breadth. It is composed of Acadian and Canadian French, a few Irishmen and provincial Englishmen and here and there an American. The people are generally unacquainted with our laws and customs, unable to read or write, and but few understand our language. Their business intercourse has been wholly with New Brunswick and Canada—they have lived under British laws and are too ignorant to be at present capable of self-government."

From 1790-1843, the two countries wrangled over this territory, and the inhabitants went their neglected way, clearing and building, but able to do little to help themselves socially. Madawaska was incorporated as a town in 1831, but this action was abortive and no further incorporation took place until 1869, when the towns of Fort Kent, Frenchville, Grand Isle and Madawaska were formed. If an indictment is to be formulated against the social and educational backwardness of this part of the State, in justice it ought not to retroact beyond 1850. During the past half century the progress of Madawaska has been steady, conservative and, considering the many obstacles, creditable to its people. This knot of settlements is situated in the extreme north, far from the State centres, 300 miles from the seaboard, totally removed from American railroads in a remote part of a relatively

Present
Condition.

See appendix :

unprosperous State. It has had the further disadvantage of being cut in twain and half of it allotted to Canada. Racially and territorially it is today more Canadian than American, yet for internal improvements it has had to look to a commonwealth unable to help it much. It is almost exclusively a farming country; its main source of income the sale of agricultural products. The soil, though fertile, is by no means to be compared with that of Nova Scotia or the great Aroostook valley. In order to sell his products the Madawaska farmer has been compelled to convey them long miles by wagon or dispose of them at a ruinous loss to itinerant traders. The agricultural development of other parts of the State has worked him nothing but harm. The land itself has been overworked and fertilizers are beyond his purse. In bad years he has been driven to the money lender, and this temporary expedient, as always, has become a widely prevailing condition, sapping industry and driving off the energetic. Scores, nay hundreds of these farms, are loaded with the mortgage incubus, and held in precarious tenure. This state of things, though it has not resulted in starvation, has held the settlers in an ever tightening grip of poverty. The increase of population also has its disadvantages. The younger generation has taken up new concessions in the interior only to repeat the sorrowful experience of their fathers. Lumbering has given at certain seasons of year a number employment but worked great harm to the farming industry. All manufactured goods are luxuries on account of the cost of carriage. Across the river is a community in almost the same condition. Moreover, the Acadian has not the American energy and progressiveness, but even though he had, we could not argue much more for him than has been the result in the rural districts in other parts of the State.

Progress. In spite of obstacles the most discouraging, the Madawaska country during the past 50 years has accomplished much.

There are now in the district commonly called Mada-

waska, which includes all the country between Van Buren and St. Francis and some considerable inland settlements, nine churches, eight of these with resident clergymen, who also attend many missions without church edifices. Of course these are all Catholic. There is a college at Van Buren conducted by the Marist Fathers, with a corps of nine professors and one hundred students. In three places, Van Buren, Frenchville and Wallagras, are religious schools under charge of Good Shepherd, Rosary and Franciscan Sisters. The number of children of both sexes taught in these schools is 387. The State School Report for 1897, which paid special attention to the schools of North Eastern Maine, stated that there were at that time in the Madawaska country 118 schools with 3690 pupils. There is also an efficient training school at Fort Kent, where most of the students are of French descent. This training school provides for these schools a corps of teachers who understand not only pedagogy, but also the two languages and the temper of the people. The man who has done more for the cause of education in Madawaska than any other one man was the late Mr. Vetal Cyr, principal of this training school, who was himself an Acadian and a native of Madawaska.

The building up of a school system which would supply a fair education to the children of these widely scattered settlements has been a work of great labor. It was begun when the boundary was decided, but the beginning was very feeble. "In 1866, 24 years after the Acadians had become a part of the State of Maine, the State Agent's report shows that there were but 7 schoolhouses in the whole territory, most of them quite small and illy constructed, and during that year but 20 schools were maintained, with an aggregate of 614 pupils, 322 of whom studied English. In 1871 the last year during which the schools were maintained under this plan (the whole district under one agent), the number of schools had increased to 47, two of which, i. e. those at Fort Kent and Frenchville respectively, were denominated high schools."

Schools.

The section was then divided off into organized districts. "In 1876, four years after the organization of this system, in 11 towns and plantations were maintained 83 schools, attended by 2075 children. There were but 42 schoolhouses in these towns and plantations; 35 of these were of the most primitive character, and not more than 3 were in condition fit for the accommodation of schools in other than the warmer months of the year."

In 1877 the State provided for the erection of two normal schools. From the one at Fort Kent has grown up the Madawaska Training School.

"Since the establishing of the Training School at Fort Kent, a greatly increased interest in the education of the young, especially in the English language, has been developed. The clergymen of the various parishes have lent their aid to this good work and a noticeable improvement has been made from year to year."

Religion.

The Acadians were and are a profoundly religious people. Certain historians have stated that they were superstitious, but those who know them state that their faith is marked by the common sense of which Mr. Deane spoke. Were their religion not of the most solid character, there would have resulted in their long wanderings and life in the woods a great loss of faith and morality. In point of fact, the high standard of morality so characteristic of the Acadian in his native shores is equally characteristic of him today in Madawaska. For many years after their arrival in the upper St. John, they had no resident clergyman among them. Such religious ministrations as they received were given by a hard worked missionary who had to come hundreds of miles to this remote district. His work was necessarily confined to the essentials. In 1794 a priest was stationed at St. Basil, but since the farms stretched for miles up and down the river, any adequate attendance was beyond the power of one man. There was no church on the American side of the St. John until about 1830. Mr. Davies' report of 1828 states that some families had settled at a place called

Chateauqua, near Frenchville, and had set about building a church, but of this nothing is known.

In 1838 there were two churches, one in Van Buren (St. Bruno), and the other at Van Buren (St. Luce). During the next decade the settlements began to be more organized and other churches rose. In a country of such magnificent distances, there was competition naturally about the location of these edifices; each man wanted one near his house. Some differences arose on this head, noticeably in the case of the church of Mount Carmel, whose situation between Grand Isle and St. David gave rise to many dissensions, and it was removed. It may be that this is the church mentioned by Mr. Davies as being built in 1828 at a place called Chataucoin. At all events there is now no sign of church or churchyard except the little God's Acre with its lonely cross that arrests the eye of the traveller along the road between Grand Isle and St. David. The Mount Carmel church was replaced by one at Grand Isle, which is still in use and which was built some time posterior to 1858. The materials for this church were taken from a structure erected by the people of Van Buren some six miles above the town of that name, where the location is marked by an iron cross. These various changes were not accomplished without some heart-burnings, but parish lines were finally settled so as to be mutually satisfactory. The present church of St. David was erected about this time. The church at St. Francis is evidently of early date but its date is not precisely known.

In later days the spread of population inland has given rise to new parishes and new churches. Two modern structures have been built in Wal- lagras, some seven miles from Fort Kent, in the hills and near Eagle Lake, and at St. Agatha, on the shores of Grand Lake, a dozen miles from the St. John River. These places are not properly within the limits of the older communities of Madawaska and are largely composed of Canadian people. Most of the churches in this region

Churches.

are surprisingly well built and are a matter of much local pride.

**Diocese of
Portland,
1855.**

By environment and circumstances the ecclesiastical history of Madawaska has been more Canadian than American. At the time the Acadians came the Catholic Church in New England was in its infancy. It was not until 1855 that the Diocese of Portland was established; it embraced the two states of Maine and New Hampshire, a large territory with few workers. The Acadian settlement on the Canadian frontier was separated from the rest of Maine by hundreds of miles of trackless forest and there was not an adequate force of priests to supply the wants of the populous coast cities. Hence for years this Northern district was administered by priests from Canada who worked with zeal and devotion there. When circumstances permitted it this condition was changed. The second Bishop of Portland, Bishop Healy paid great attention to these Northern missions and established schools and religious facilities in them.

Following is a list of the early missionaries of Madawaska :

Leclaire, curé de l'Isle Verte, Co. Temiscouata,	1786-1790
Paquet " " "	1791-1795
Ciquard, Sulpician, residing St. Basil and at	1794-1798
Amiot, curé De St. Andre de Kamouraska .	1799
Vazina " " .	1800-1802
Dorval " " .	1803-1804
Hott, resident at St. Basil	1804-1806
Amiot returns cure St. Andre	1807-1808
Kelly, resident at St. Basil	1808-1810
Raby, " " . .	1810-1813 (Oct).
Marcoux, " " . .	(Nov.) 1813-1818 (Aug).
Lagarde, " " . .	(Sept.) 1818-1821 (Aug).
Ringuette " " . .	(Nov.) 1821-1826 (Aug).
Sirois " " . .	(Oct.) 1826-1831 (Aug).
Mercier " " . .	(Oct.) 1831-1835 (Sept).
Langevin " " . .	(Oct.) 1835-1857 (Apr.)

After this date Madawaska began to divide off into parishes. Indeed St. Bruno had already been formed into a separate parish in 1838, having had a church for some years before that time, but attended from St. Basil. St. Luce (Frenchville) had for its first resident priest Rev. H. Dionne who came in Aug. 1843. The church had been built for some years, from 1837 or 38. The district on the Canadian side of the St. John is now divided into 16 missions having churches and is attended by 11 priests.

Summary.

When one reads the history of Acadia from the first venture in 1604, remarks the elements that went to form

this settlement, its isolation, its wars, the fact that the land changed hands 9 times in a century, that the expatriates of 1755 left there their all, that the founders of Madawaska wandered for nearly 40 years, in the wilderness ere they saw their promised land, and entering in found it a bleak forest, he will understand something of the obstacles that beset this people in their march of progress. Other colonies had a mother country to look to; this had none. Other pioneers had struck into the untrodden wilds, but it was with the implements of husbandry and building, with somewhere a basis of supplies. These people came out of the woods, pariahs, poorer than the aborigines. To further increase their difficulties, they settled in a spot which was to become the bone of contention between two governments for more than 30 years. They suffered all the evils of a disputed jurisdiction, and finally saw their little community cut in two by an international boundary line. They who lived on the American side of the St. John had all the disadvantages of Canadians with none of their blessings, few as these were. Their American territorial position was but nominal. For the rest of the State they were as the Indians. The year of grace 1843, which saw the settlement of the boundary question and Maine's 23d birthday, found the Madawaska Acadians after an occupation of 53 years a vast struggling unorganized frontier settlement, without government, without schools, isolated from the rest of the State territorially by an impassible forest nearly 100 miles in width, isolated socially by an alien tongue, a despised religion and outlandish customs, without a tendril stretching out to them from the widening branches of American national life.

Not a town along the St. John was incorporated until three years after the close of the Civil War. Then the organization was mostly on paper and embraced but four places, Madawaska, Grand Isle, Frenchville and Ft. Kent. Van Buren was not incorporated until 1881, St. Agatha and Wallagras are still plantations. From one point of view the wanderings of the Acadians and the final peace

at Madawaska is certainly romantic, but practically their life was and to an extent still is hard and crude beyond measure. Not an axe or a spade could reach Madawaska except across the line from Canada or by a long and costly journey from the United States. The smallest manufactured article was a luxury of price. There were no stores at first; there was no money if traders came into the district. The inhabitants were thrown back upon their own industry and ingenuity. It was fortunate for the Acadians that their ancestors had gone through this experience before, and understood how to live under the circumstances. They were their own blacksmiths, and outfitters. Maidens wore their kirtles of homespun until lately in this part of the country because they could get nothing else. It is only lately that the homespun has ceased to be the common material for clothes; it is still far from a rarity, especially in the back districts.

It is pretty well settled that a man cannot pull himself up by his bootstraps, but for a long time it seemed that this was the only chance of progress for the Madawaska people. Maine knew nothing about them; their brethren in Canada could do little to aid them; money was scarce and there was no visible way of getting it. The Madawaska farmer had but one source of income, farming products, but the market was small and supplied by others who were on the seaboard or the railroad. It is to be kept in mind that there was no American railroad within a hundred miles of Madawaska in the early half of the last century; that the river was of no assistance for transportation, since the head of navigation was more than 200 miles below. Enterprise would not come to a place so situated, roads were poor; the people driven to a hand to mouth existence always a little this side of actual want. Development could come only from the outside. Most of the people could not read or write, because there was no one to teach them. The section had to wait for educational advantages until the rest of the State was served. Population increased apace, new fields were cleared, the

boundaries of the settlements were enlarged, but life and progress in them all was at the same dead level, with little hope of improvement. These statements, universally true of the entire Madawaska country 50 years ago, are still true of the inland districts today. Few New England or even Maine people understand how vast and undeveloped the State still is.

There is another important item to be considered in relation to the progress of these settlements. The winters are long and severe, snow covers the ground to the depth of 6 to 12 feet for six months of the year, paralyzing communication, closing schools and wrapping the whole country in industrial sleep.

Succeeding years have developed other parts of the State, particularly the wide Aroostook valley, intersected it with lines of railroads, putting it in touch with the world markets, until its crops of grain and potatoes are become a marvel. All this prosperity has not touched the valley of the St. John, on the Canadian frontier, isolated by land and water from the trade marts. There has been scarce enough for the present population when the boys grew up and looked out for some chance to carve out a livelihood, they saw but one hope, the forest. To the forest they have gone with their small families, taken up new concessions, built log cabins, and attacked the forest with fire and axe, planting between the tree stumps and the following year burning down these stumps and making the land ready for the plough. One may see this work going on at any time. It is a work that requires stout hearts, good sinews and tireless industry, but the young men of Madawaska have taken up the burden cheerfully. They are working for the future. It is no small thing to leave the home settlements with the dearly gained improvements of years, and take up life in the lonely forest far from church and school, but the indispensable daily bread had to be gained and the historians of the future will praise these latter day pioneers.

Isolation.

Thus it is in this Northern region that the 17th century elbows the twentieth, and while the people of the older settlements without any industrial prosperity to encourage them are striving for education and the comforts of life, their sons, instead of enjoying what has been earned by their fathers, have been compelled by poverty to repeat the sorrowful history of their ancestors.

Modern Madawaska comprises six principal communities, each scattered over a wide range of territory, and all bordering on the River St. John. These are Van Buren, Grand Isle, St. David (Madawaska), Frenchville, Ft. Kent and St. Francis. These communities are better known by the names of their churches than by their corporate ones. Van Buren is St. Bruno; Frenchville, St. Luce; Ft. Kent, St. Louis. There are also two other communities some miles back in the lake country, St. Agatha, some 12 miles from the St. John, and Wallagras, eight miles from Ft. Kent. On the opposite side of the river, in the province of New Brunswick a like line of settlements extends from Grand Falls to Connor Station. St. Leonard's is opposite Van Buren, St. Ann's nearly the same to Grand Isle, St. Basil and Edmonston some four miles apart and across from St. David. St. Hilaire pairs off with Frenchville and Clair with Ft. Kent, while Connor Station is some six miles below St. Francis. All these places mentioned are at intervals in a valley not quite 100 miles in extent. They are so near together that the wayfarer could shape his course by their church spires and were it proper a signal could be sent by the church bells to and fro across the St. John all the way from Van Buren to St. Francis.

The grouping of houses into villages, so marked a characteristic of some rural communities, is hardly the rule here. The farms were laid out with so much river bank allotted to each and stretching far inland. Var. Buren, Ft. Kent and Frenchville form more or less compact towns, but the other places are composed of widely scattered farms. The cross roads store is little in evi-

dence and in fact stores of any kind are rare except in the three places above mentioned. It can be said with considerable truth that the entire valley is a more or less continuous settlement. The buildings are exclusively of wood, the houses small as a rule, and the barns large. Bricks are costly and the chimney is almost invariably composed of sections of stove pipe. The buildings in this part of the country are not overburdened with paint and lack the trim neatness characteristic of more fortunate communities. This, however, only lends an added picturesqueness to the whole prospect and harmonizes well with the rugged and primitive background of the woods and hills.

The valley of the upper St. John affords views of surpassing beauty, and the traveller who pauses on one of the elevated places along the road, from which he can discern for miles up and down this magnificent river with its banks festooned with little farms or clusters of houses surmounted by the tapering white church spire, the perspective heightened by the frowning hills and the interminable billows of forest beyond, will find it coming back to him many a year after.

Appendix.

1

"Quelques de ses (D'Aulnay) colons, attirés comme LaTour, par les avantages qu'offre le port de la rivière S. Jean, étaient venus q'y établir. Ils formaient en 1755, une petite colonie de 150 à 200 ames, protégée par le fort Menangoueche, où le gouvernement du Canada entretenait une garrison. A la suite des devastations de 1775 la petite colonie de la rivière S. Jean fut détruite ou dispersée."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 316.

2

"Il y a, aux enx environs du village, onze familles acadiennes, celles-la mêmes que Votre Grandeur a eu la bonté de confirmer à Sainte-Anne. Les Acadiens qui sont restés parmi les Anglais sont encore très fervents, leur seul défaut est un grand entêtement, soit pour rester chacun dans son canton et ne vouloir point se reunir, soit pour avoir des terres aux mêmes conditions qu'ils les avaient autrefois, ne relevant que du roi. C'est ce que les Anglais, qui les détestent, leur ont reproché. Le gouvernement ne veut point les concéder à cette condition, cependant on a exigé un serment de fidélité; ils sont très difficiles à desservir, car ils restent chacun dans des cantons séparés, l'été, sur les bords de la mer, à la pêche, l'hiver, dans les bois, à la chasse."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 241.

3

"L'établissement de la rivière Saint-Jean était devenu un enfer inhabitable pour le petit nombre d'Acadiens restés sur leurs terres. Les uns allèrent rejoindre les dépossédés qui venaient de fonder la colonie de Madawaska."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 368.

4

"En 1784, les dépossédés de 1755 fixés à la rivière Saint-Jean, furent nouveau dépossédés au profit des loyalistes américains et des soldats congédés Ces malheureuses familles, impuissantes contre la force, n'eurent plus qu'à reprendre le chemin des forests. Elles remonterent la rivière Jean, à trente lieues de toute habitation, et ouvrirent, la hache à la main, les plateaux de Madawaska."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 239.

5

A MONSIEUR,

Monseigneur L'ILLUSTRISIME et RÉVÉRENDISSIME

Jean Francois Hubert, Evêque de Québec etc.

Monseigneur:

Les habitants de Madawaska, Comté de York, province de Nouveau Brunswick, sur la rivière Saint-Jean, vos très soumis enfans en Dieu, après avoir été informés de la défense de ne batir aucune église ni chapelle sans avoir préalablement obtenu la permission de Votre Grandeur, prennent la respectueuse liberté d'exposer humblement à vos yeux les raisons qu'ils croient justes et véritables de l'obtenir.

Les soussignés suppliants n'ont Monseigneur, dans cet endroit aucune Eglise ni chapelle convenable pour célébrer l'Office divin pendant le temps de la mission; la nécessité a obligé de la faire jusqu'à présent dans une pauvre cabane d'écorce, vu que la pauvreté et misère du petit nombre des habitants résidens en cet endroit, dont le plus vieux ne peut compter que sept ans de d'établissement, ne

permettoit pas de faire autrement. Mais aujourd'hui que le nombre des habitants se multiplie par la bonté du terroir qui attire les étrangers, et qu'il y a espérance que l'établissement se perpetuera. La première vue et le premier dessein des dits supplians est de batir en bois une chapelle convenable et décente proportionnement aux facultés et nombre des habitants qui ne peut que se multiplier. Car pour batir en pierre il seroit impossible d'en trouver suffisament dans ces lieux. Ainsi après avoir exposé leur besoin, unanimes entre eux et les sauvages qui charmés du dessein des françois ont promis de contribuer au déboursement nécessaire pou cette batisse, ils supplient très humblement Votre Grandeur de vouloir bien approuver leur enterprise, de leur accorder votre agrément et votre consentement afin de pouvoir travailler au plutôt. Pleinement convaincus et assurés de l'obtention de votre approbation, ils ont avant le départ des sauvages pour prévenir toutes difficultés, fait avec eux les conventions nécessaires, elus les Syndics pour conduir l'ouvrage, et ont tous promis et promettent, par ces présents, après qu'ils auront reçus les avis que Votre Grandeur voudra bien leur donner, travailler paisiblement a exécuter le dessein projeté afin de mériter votre protection et rendre leur nouvel Etablissement digne de votre souvenir. Les soussignés ne connoissent aucun titulaire ou patron de leur endroit, vous supplient humblement, Monseigneur, qu'en leur permettant de batir une chapelle il vous plaise leur accorder un titulaire pour protecteur de leur nouvel établissement et ne cesseront, vos très humbles supplians, d'élever leurs faibles prières au ciel pour la conservation de votre très illustre personne si nécessaire pour le bien des fidèles et en particulier des soussignés qui croient, Monseigneur, les plus honorés d'être mis au nombre de vos plus respectueux et plus soumis enfans en Dieu.

Sept habitants du dit lieu n'ont pu signer étant absents, mais ont témoigné avant leur départ approuver ce que seroit fait par l'assemblé
Madawaska, 23 Juillet, 1792. J. H. PAQUET, Ptre missre.

6

"The first grant of land was made to Joseph Muzerol and 51 other French settlers in the month of Oct. 1790, by Sir Thos. Carleton then lieut.-gov. of N. B. The land thus granted lay at intervals between the Verde (Green) R. and Madawaska R. which are about 9 miles apart, and on both sides of the St. John. That grant comprises 51 several lots or plats of land sufficiently large for a homestead for each settler. The second grant was to Joseph Soucier and others, in Aug. 1794, by the same Carleton, and contained 5235 acres lying below Green R. These and the one made to Simon Herbert in 1825 of 25 acres opposite to and along the Madawska, were the only grants on this side of the St. John."

Coolidge & Mansfield, N. E. also Burelle's report in Boun. pap.

7

(Deed to land in St. Luce & St. Bruno-Rev. J. B. Sirois to Mgr. Panet.)

Know all men by these presents that the Revd Jean Elie Sirois of the parish of Madawaska in the County of Carleton and province of New Brunswick, for and in consideration of the money paid before the sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and himself therewith fully satisfied paid and contented have granted, bargained & sold, and by these presents do grant bargain and sell unto the Most Reverend Bernard, Lord Bishop of Quebec, in the province of Lower Canada, his successors or assigns, all that certain piece or parcel of land and premises situated in the said

parish of Madawaska, county of Carleton and province of New Brunswick and in that part of the said parish commonly called St. Luce on the southwesterly side of the river St. John measuring in front twenty rods bounded on the upper side by a lot of land in possession of Fermain Thibodeau and on the lower side by Benjamin Boucher and containing the usual number of acres in proportion of the said front or width. Also and on the same condition all that certain piece or parcel of land situated lying and being in the lower part of the said parish of Madawaska county and province aforesaid, and commonly known by the name of St. Bruno, measuring in front or breadth thirty rods on the southwesterly side of the river St. John, bounded in the lower side by Souprain Grace and on the upper side by the said Glois Thibodeau and containing one hundred acres by the same more or less, together with all and singular the improvements, profits privileges appurtenances and hereditaments to whatsoever to the same belonging or in any wise appertaining and also all the estate right title interest dower title of dower property claim challenge or demand whatsoever of him the said Revd. Jean Elie Sirois of and in and to the same and evert part and parcel of land above described and premises with the appurtenances unto him the Bernard Panet Lord Bishop of the Quebec his successors or assign forever. In witness whereof the said Revd. Jean Elie Sirois has hereunto set his hand and seal at Madawaska aforesaid the twenty second day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty eight and in the fifth year of His Majesty's Reign and in presence of

Ant. Lagevin Ptre
Francis Rice

J. E. SIROIS, *Prov.*

8

Following is a table of statistics of the principal places in Madawaska. These are far from being exclusively Acadian settlements. The Acadians and Canadians are now so intermarried that any accurate statistics about them are all but impossible, and there are now many people of American parentage, of other races, scattered through the section, but the places were first settled by Acadians and the most common names among the people point to the same source.

NOTE	From Houlton.	Incor.	Pop. 1900.	Valuation 1900.
Van Buren	75	1881	1878	\$220,815
Grand Isle	90	1869	1404	132,730
St. David	100	1869	1698	196,895
Frenchville	110	1869	1316	115,048
Fort Kent	126	1869	2528	105,163
St. Francis	145		568	44,770
St. Agatha	115	(org) 1869	1366	86,340
Wallagras	140		784	41,394

There are also some plantations in the interior of the

country principally settled by the French, and comprised within the parish limits of the above mentioned places.

Connor.....	60	(org) 1877	453	53,327
Cyr.....	70	1856	502	49,454
Eagle Lake.....	100	1881	406	30,648
Hamlin.....	70	1884	534	79,813
New Canada.....	119		419	33,927
Winterville.....	92		124	

It may be interesting to state that the parochial returns of 1900 from the eight Madawaska parishes foot up to a round 14,000.

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Collins, C.W.

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The Acadians of Madawaska..

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